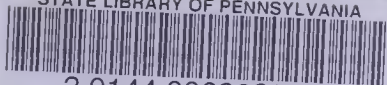


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REVIEW,
HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,
OF THE LATE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,
AND OF
THE CONSEQUENT EVENTS IN
BELGIUM, POLAND, GREAT BRITAIN,
AND OTHER PARTS OF
EUROPE.

BY CALEB CUSHING.

IN TWO VOLUMES
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SEQUEL
OF THE
THREE DAYS.

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SEQUEL

OF THE

THREE DAYS.

CHAPTER I.

The Netherlands.--Belgium.--Holland.--Measures of Union.
--The Constitution.--Grievances of the Belgians.--Stassart
Subscription.--Prosecution of De Potter.--The States Gen-
eral.--The French Revolution.--Riots in Brussels.--
The Burgher Guard.--Mission to the King.--Arrival of
the Princes.--Belgian Commission.--Separation of Bel-
gium and Holland.

THE Kingdom of the Netherlands, — an ill ce-
mented fabric constructed by the Congress of
Vienna for a counterpoise to Gallic power, but as
incapable to withstand the shock of the liberal
opinions, as its constituent parts had been to re-
sist the arms, of the French, — was the first to feel
the force of the revolutionary incidents in Paris.

When the cruelties of Philip Second of Spain
filled the Low Countries with disaffection and re-
volt, there existed, in the different provinces, no

such marked diversity of interests or feelings, as would have led a superficial observer to suppose that a voluntary union between them all was impracticable. They consisted, it is true, of three great subdivisions of population, namely, the Dutch, the Flemings, and the Walloons, or proper descendants of the ancient Belgic Gauls; but the Dutch and Flemings were closely allied in origin, language, and habits, and the remaining inhabitants, if not particularly attached to Holland, yet were so to Flanders and Brabant. But it soon became apparent that a more decided prevalence of the Catholic faith, and a greater preponderance of the patrician families, in the southern provinces, rendered these last more easy to reclaim to obedience, than the northern provinces. Hence, at the close of a protracted contest, the seven northern provinces, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, and Guelderland, came to compose the independent Republic of the United Provinces, — while the residue of the Netherlands continued under the government of Spain.

In process of time, the southern provinces became distinguished as the Catholic Netherlands, and the northern might with equal propriety have been called the Protestant Netherlands. In fact, the two great fragments of the Netherlands were the very antipodes each of the other in their religious belief. But other differences, equally efficacious in moulding their subsequent fortunes, grew out of the circumstances and consequences of the struggle for independence. In the first place, the Hollanders, by closing up the Scheldt for a long period, destroyed the commerce of Antwerp, and caused the transfer of its business to Amsterdam. Meantime, the Hollanders grew to be a powerful maritime nation, with ships and

foreign colonies, making wars and contracting alliances on their own account, — while the Catholic Netherlands followed the fortunes of the House of Charles V, and became of necessity a manufacturing and agricultural people, and the subject of incessant contention between Spain and France. Their cession to Austria, after the death of Charles II, did not materially affect either their internal condition or their position. Repeatedly overrun by the French, and the frequent theatre of the great battles of Europe, the Belgic Netherlands were continually losing all traces of ancient sympathy with the Dutch Netherlands; so that, when the French Revolution broke out, the Dutch and the Belgians were foreigners in respect of each other, in religion, interests, public spirit, literature, and whatever else might go to make up nationality of character.

Belgium was conquered by the French Republic, or rather taken possession of, and incorporated with France, at the very beginning of the war, brought on by the Revolution. In fact, the Belgians, who had scarcely settled down from the insurrection, into which the innovations of Joseph II had impelled them, received the French with open arms, and became in feeling, as well as in organization, an integral part of the Republic and Empire. The general use of the French language in the Austrian Netherlands made this natural and easy; and at the same time the Belgians found, in France, a market for their staple productions, which rendered the union agreeable to their interest as well as their taste. But the course of things was otherwise in Holland.

Dumouriez, in command of the French forces, gained possession of Belgium in a single campaign, (1793) the victory of Jemmappes being decisive of the fate of Clerfayt and the Austrians.

But the Allies made a stand in Holland, and the arms of the Austrians, aided by the treachery of Dumouriez, recovered the ascendancy for awhile, to lose it again finally the ensuing year. Pichegru and Jourdan drove all before them like a torrent. The Austrians were completely beaten by the latter at Fleurus, and it cost the former but a few days to expel the English from the United Provinces, which hailed the French army as liberators, and resolved themselves into the Batavian Republic 'one and indivisible,' in imitation of the French.

At this period, while Belgium was in fact as in name absorbed in France, Holland possessed only the name of independence without the fact. It remained in the occupancy of the French army. While France was governed by a Convention, so was Holland; a Directory in the latter followed upon the establishment of a Directory in the former; when Bonaparte obtained the control of affairs in France as First Consul, like authority in Holland was conferred on the Grand Pensionary, Schimmelpenninck, who subsequently gave place to King Louis; and when the latter ceased to co-operate cordially in his brother's continental system, Holland was incorporated with the Empire. During the progress of these events, Holland suffered more than any other part of Europe. Its commerce, the main industry of its inhabitants, was annihilated; its population, unused to military service and quite umilitary in its character, was decimated by the indiscriminate operation of the conscription; its colonies were seized upon by the English, and its navy destroyed by them at the battle of Camperdown; and its fundholders were impoverished by an imperial decree reducing the public debt two thirds: in short the whole country was oppressed under the weight of a mul-

titude of peculiar evils, without enjoying any compensating benefits, by its association with France.*

It will be conceived that, when the star of Napoleon began to decline, the Dutch waited only for opportunity to reclaim their ancient independence. On the 17th of November 1813, a junta of bold partizans of the House of Orange, at the head of less than 1000 imperfectly armed followers, proclaimed William of Nassau Sovereign Prince of Holland, in the capital of the Hague, and succeeded in maintaining their ground in spite of the French. In the course of a few months, the government was fully organized as a constitutional monarchy under the authority of William First. Meanwhile, the destiny of Belgium seemed uncertain. After Napoleon's abdication it was provisionally governed by Baron Vincent, an Austrian general; but by the treaty of London of June 1814, it was annexed to Holland, and made subject to the Constitution and the Prince adopted by the Dutch. This measure was taken without consulting the wishes of the Belgians themselves, being intended as the means of interposing a barrier power between the French and the Germans. It was not promulgated until February 1815, and in the ensuing month Napoleon reappeared in France. Of course, the Belgians had little time to express the discontent, which they really felt, in view of their new destination, although previous to February some efforts were made among the upper classes to be restored to Austria.

In the crisis of the Hundred Days, the Dutch entered with their whole soul into the coalition against the French, and the Belgians themselves were not backward in the great battle fought on

*De Reiffenberg, *Résumé de l'Histoire des Pays-Bas*, tom. ii, p. 116.

their own blood-fattened soil. Its result was conclusive in regard to the union of Belgium and Holland. Steps were immediately taken to organize the new Kingdom of the Netherlands, in the progress of which the germs of future discord developed themselves with sufficient distinctness.

The Belgians, although by no means unanimous in their own wishes, seemed to agree in aversion to the authority of a Dutchman and a Protestant. While no class of persons felt any attachment for Holland, the nobles were manifestly partial to Austria, and a majority of the intelligent and industrious of the middling classes were equally partial to France. They had ample experience of the advantages they derive from a close protecting system, with full access to the markets of France for the sale of their productions, and anticipated the decline of all their interests from the system of free trade, which alone could enable Holland to subsist. So that, independently of the terms of union, and of the mode of imposing it upon them, the Belgians were predisposed to receive with reluctance the sceptre of the House of Nassau.*

First, the junction of Holland and Belgium was resolved upon by the Allies, of their own mere motion, and for their benefit, not for that of the parties to the arrangement. The Belgians were disposed of as a conquered people having no rights of their own, and as mere makeweights in the scale of European politics. Their union with Holland, and the outline of its conditions, was decreed in Paris and London in May and June of the year 1814, and the subsequent forms of voluntary organization were forms only, destitute of the substance of independent action.

Nay, the Constitution, or Fundamental Law,

* Grattan's History of the Netherlands, p. 286.

as it is called, of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was actually rejected by the Belgians; and the proceedings by which a rejection was metamorphosed into adoption are a curious passage of the political jugglery of those days. The *Grondwet*, Loi Fondamentale, or constitutional Charter, had been adopted in Holland by an Assembly of 600 Notables convened in Amsterdam in March of 1814, and in February of 1815 a commission was appointed to revise the Constitution, and adapt it to the enlarged state of the Kingdom. They made report in the July following, and William thereupon summoned a Convention of Belgian Notables, selected by himself, to the number of 1603, to consider the revised Constitution. Of them, 1323 assembled and actually rejected the Charter by a vote of 796 to 522, being a majority of 266 in the negative. Of these, 126 had assigned, as the reason of their vote, the difference in religion between the Belgians and Dutch; and King William deeming this an inadequate reason, decided that their votes ought not to be counted. Again, 259 of the persons summoned having absented themselves from the meeting, they, said the King, are to be considered in favor of the Charter, since they have not voted against it.—Accordingly, in the teeth of the vote of rejection, the Loi Fondamentale was declared to have been adopted, by the same process of royal wisdom, which afterwards pronounced the bed of a river to be a chain of highlands.*

Nor were the provisions of the Fundamental Law just and equitable in themselves, at least in the estimation of the Belgians. An equal repre-

* This decree does not appear to be printed usually with the ‘*Grondwet voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*,’ at least it is not in my copy; but it may be seen in *De Reiffenberg*, tom. ii, p. 155.

sentation in the States General, of 55 members each, was assigned to the two divisions of the monarchy, although the Belgians were 3,337,000 in number, and the Dutch but 2,046,000. (Ch. iii, s. 1) — All the inhabitants of the Netherlands being incorporated together as one single people, the public debt of both Belgium and Holland became a charge upon the whole united Netherlands (Conf. ch. i and ch. vii), although most of it consisted of the old accumulated debt of Holland, in which the Belgians had no concern, and for which they considered an interest in the Dutch colonies as a very poor equivalent. These two objectionable points elicited the strongest expressions of disapprobation from the Belgians; and from such inauspicious beginnings, it was clear, every thing of evil was to be augured for the sequel, even had the Charter been otherwise acceptable, unless the government should be administered with extraordinary fairness, liberality, and particular consideration for the feelings of the Belgians. — But in these respects the machine, and the working of it, were alike calculated to aggravate the sense of grievances arising from other sources.

In the Fundamental Law, imposed on them by superior force, the Belgians saw no provision for ministerial responsibility and they found that the budget was to be voted for decennial periods: — the people being thus debarred of those means of constitutional resistance to an oppressive government, which were indispensably necessary for their safeguard. And while the Belgians perceived themselves to be thus hampered by the provisions of the Charter, they soon had ample evidence how little their peculiar interests were to be regarded, although, to give the semblance of equality to the Dutch and Belgians, the States General were held alternately at Brussels and the Hague.

It was a favorite object with William to impress on his subjects a complete nationality of character. Especially was he anxious to obliterate from their institutions every thing, which savored of predilection for and fellowfeeling with France. Unfortunately for him, the French was not only the language of society and of literature in Belgium, but it was also the language of the law and of legal documents, the Flemish being in the condition of a *patois*, or provincial dialect, rather than a written tongue. But in 1819 an ordinance appeared, requiring the Dutch or Flemish to be used in all stamped paper; and this, from the universal application of the stamp-tax, was tantamount to excluding the French language from contracts and legal writings. This absurd attempt to change the language of the Belgians occasioned infinite distress among the legal *employés*, and great inconvenience to the whole people; and it was so difficult, not to say impossible, to execute it, that after the measure had been modified repeatedly by successive ordinances, it was at length wholly abandoned in 1830, when from this and other causes the discontent of the people had grown to be almost irrepressible.

In the distribution of public offices, the partiality of the King for the Dutch was so extraordinary, that, were it not vouched on respectable authority, it would seem scarcely credible. 'In 1816,' says a well informed writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, 'of eight ministers of state only one was a Belgian; of 28 diplomatic agents, one; of 244 ministerial officers in various civil departments, 60; of 85 generals, 16. The officers of the King's guard were all Dutch, and so were three fourths of the artillery. Against a Dutch court, a Dutch ministry, an army commanded by a large majority of Dutch officers, what had Bel-

gium to oppose? — Representatives equal in number with those of a less extensive, less populous, and more favored state. — But what did even this avail? Whenever the government wished to pass a measure which favored Holland at the expense of Belgium, they were sure of the unanimous concurrence of the 55 Dutch members; and a single Belgian gained over to the ministerial side, gave them a majority, and placed that country at their disposal.* To which it may be added that the members of the First Chamber, as it was called, were nominated for life by the King.

Gross inequality was also apparent in the public administration as to matters of religion. — Of the payments from the public treasury for the support of public worship, 5,400,000 Catholics received only 1,800,000 florins, while 1,300,000 Protestants received 1,300,000 florins. A long series of disputes with the Catholics, from the very beginning of his reign down to the year 1830, subjected the King to the imputation of seeking to *protestantize* Belgium; and the grave causes of offence which he gave to the Catholic clergy drove them to that cooperation with the radical republicans, which eventually overturned his throne.

Finally came taxation, the great topic of debate everywhere, and on various accounts a sore point to the Belgians. It was not enough that the payment of the Dutch public debt, the support of Dutch dykes, the defence of the Dutch colonies, the payment of Dutch functionaries and troops, and the endowment of a Dutch royal family, constituted the chief objects of expenditure; but in addition to this, the methods of taxation were such as to be peculiarly oppressive to the Belgians. The question of a protecting system of duties was no less strenuously argued in the Neth-

* Edinburgh Review for January 1833, p. 417.

erlands, than it has been in the United States, but under quite different circumstances. The Dutch, who produced nothing comparatively, were clamorous for free trade; the Belgians, who produced largely, in agricultural as well as manufactured products, were equally clamorous for a tariff that should afford adequate protection to home industry; and their respective interests in the matter were utterly irreconcilable. The Dutch had always plentifully abounded in taxes; for having unlimited access to capital, they had branched out, like the English, into great extravagance of public expenditure, and were of course assessed in all forms which financial ingenuity could devise. When the two countries became one, the Dutch very kindly imparted all these profitable inventions to their new friends, together with others of novel impression. And there were two descriptions of tax, which proved intolerably oppressive to the Belgic cultivators, namely, the *mouture* collected on the grinding of corn, and the *abattage* levied on the slaughter of cattle. These interfered so much with the ordinary transactions of life among the agricultural classes, as to produce inconceivable irritation of feeling.

Affairs were gradually brought to a crisis by means of the press and the popular branch of the Legislature, those grand engines of modern liberty. In 1828 two persons connected with the press, MM. Jador and Bellet, were condemned to a year's imprisonment, and exile afterwards, on account of alleged seditious publications. — Hereupon M. Ducpétiaux and M. de Potter inserted articles in the *Courier des Pays Bas*, to the effect that the banishment was unconstitutional; for which they also were prosecuted, and sentenced each to pay a fine, and the one to twelve and the other to eighteen months' imprisonment. —

These proceedings excited so much dissatisfaction, that in 1829 the King retraced several of his steps, and it was hoped that a better policy was hereafter to characterize his government. But these hopes were destined to be lamentably disappointed.

When the decennial budget for 1830 was presented to the Chambers, the Belgian deputies had made a stand against the administration, and succeeded in procuring a majority opposed to the Ministers. On this occasion, the Ministers had employed every means of persuasion or intimidation to augment their vote; but sectional attachments prevailed over all other considerations; and several Belgians, who held offices under the crown, saw fit to vote according to their convictions of public duty; as did also the Baron de Stassart, Deputy for Namur, who enjoyed a pension for some past services. Hereupon the King issued a decree dismissing the public functionaries, who had voted with the Opposition, and depriving M. de Stassart of his pension. This measure occasioned extraordinary ferment, the case of M. de Stassart, especially, being deemed a violent and intolerable exercise of executive authority, utterly subversive of the chartered rights of the subject. It was attributed to the advice of M. Van Maanen, Minister of Justice, a statesman of distinguished abilities, it is true, but of arbitrary temper, who seems to have played the same part in the Belgian Revolution, that M. de Polignac did in the French. MM. de Bousies, Ingenhouz, Luyben, de la Vielleuze, Delafaille, and de Stassart, the individuals thus punished for their patriotism, were of course exalted into martyrs; and a subscription was eagerly set on foot, of one florin for every subscriber, to indemnify them for the loss in emoluments or pensions, which they had

sustained, by their conscientious opposition to arbitrary power.

At this period M. de Potter was still in prison, under the sentence heretofore mentioned. This gentleman, an author and a scholar of considerable reputation, was formidable for his talents as a writer, his activity, and still more for his revolutionary principles. His 'Life of Scipio de Ricci' had given him European reputation as an uncompromising foe of the See of Rome; but whatever might have been his hatred of the Catholic church, his hostility towards the House of Nassau was not less intense; and he was eminently instrumental in combining the high church and ultra republican parties against the King, a combination which he strenuously urged upon both parties in a published pamphlet. His imprisonment, it may be supposed, did not abate his zeal. Assuming the signature of *Démophile*, he maintained a continual discharge of newspaper articles and pamphlets of an inflammatory description. Indeed, he could not fail to see that the disaffection of the Belgians was fast ripening into insurrection, and that now was the time for himself, and others of his opinion, to be firm and fearless. M. de Potter seized upon the idea of the Stassart Subscription, and proposed to convert it into a powerful engine of opposition to the Dutch. His plan was to organize a confederacy, not only to indemnify such of their number as should undergo loss by reason of their opinions, but to constitute a permanent political union, for the purpose of controlling elections and by all other means resisting the government.*

The announcement of this project aroused the apprehensions of the government, which imme-

* Lardren's Retrospect for 1831, vol. ii, ch. 8; American Annual Register for 1829—30, p. 402.

diately directed the prosecution of the individuals accountable for its publication, as guilty of writing and circulating a seditious libel; and lest this should not suffice, they were also to be accused, at hazard, of high treason. To make out this latter charge their dwellings were visited, and their private papers and correspondence seized; but although there was a great mass of correspondence between MM. de Potter and Tielemans, two of the accused, on political subjects, yet nothing was found to sustain the charge of treason. They were therefore accused, — MM. de Potter, Tielemans, and Barthels as principals, and MM. Coché-Mommens, Vanderstraeten, and De Nève, as accessories or accomplices, — of having, by printed writings, directly incited the citizens to a complot or criminal attempt in the aim of destroying the government of the country.* Of these individuals, De Potter is styled *rentier*, being, as we have seen, an independent man of letters and politician; Tielemans was an *employé* in the department of Foreign Affairs; and the rest were journalists, Barthels being editor of *Le Catholique*, Coché-Mommens publisher of the *Courrier des Pays-Bas*, Vanderstraeten of *Le Belge*, and De Nève of *Le Catholique* and *Den Vaderlander*.* — Their trial lasted from the 16th to the 30th of April; and if the publications complained of were of a seditious tendency, the trial itself proved to be a hundred times more so; for the prisoners were strenuously defended by MM. Gendebien, Van de Weyer, and other leading patriots, and the proceedings were published from day to day in the journals. In fine, their sentence, harsh and excessive beyond all measure, completed the breach between the Dutch and the Belgians.

MM. Coché-Mommens and Vanderstraeten

* *Procès de MM. de Potter, Tielemans, &c.* p. 3.

were acquitted; the rest were condemned to banishment, De Potter for eight years, Tielemans and Barthels for seven, and De Nève for five. But the difficulty of the government and their persecution of the accused did not end here. Whither should the exiles go? It was not their persons, but their pens, which the government feared; and if they might take refuge in the contiguous countries of Prussia or France, nothing would be gained for William of Nassau by their banishment. Accordingly he induced the governments of Prussia and France to forbid the entry of the exiles into either of those countries; so that nearly three months elapsed before they could set out for Switzerland, where they were at length permitted to seek an asylum. They had ascended the Rhine on their way as far as Strasburg, when the Revolution of the Three Days came to change the destinies of so large a portion of Europe, and to place M. de Potter himself at the head of a revolutionary government in his native Belgium.

During the progress of the proceedings against De Potter and his associates, other causes of irritation were conspiring together to bring matters to a crisis. The States General were in session from February to June 1830, and the debates turned on questions, not of party, but of nation: the division was purely of Dutch on the one side and of Belgian on the other. Nearly a thousand petitions were presented in the Second Chamber, coming from all parts of Belgium and signed by men of all classes, which demanded, among other things, the free use of the French language, trial by jury, freedom of the press, and responsibility of ministers, — the debates on which were simply whether the existing government was beneficial or the reverse to Belgium. Various measures of

legislation continually gave occasion to the same turn of argument, all tending to the point of a separation of the two great divisions of the Kingdom. Such were the debates upon public instruction, where the interests and prejudices of the Catholics were involved; such, discussions of a new law of the press, and of the financial measures called for by the refusal of the Chamber, during the preceding year, to pass the budget of treasury estimates. In this the last session of the States General of the whole Netherlands, the members of the Second Chamber contrived to render the King's partiality for the Dutch language so completely ridiculous, as to induce the abandonment of his crusade against the French. The Belgian members pretended not to understand reports or speeches made in Dutch, so that it was necessary to make them in both languages. Thus when M. Van Dam, a sturdy Dutch member, refused to translate a report which he made, the Belgian Deputies threatened to secede, saying, — 'If the practice is persisted in, of giving explanations in a language which we do not understand, we shall return home, and declare to our provinces that they can no longer be represented.' It required no prophet to foretel that the government must fall before an Opposition, which consisted of a whole nation.

And yet, with characteristic obstinacy, the King adhered to his Ministers, as if it were a point of conscience to retain in office just those very individuals, and as if no others were capable of administering the public affairs. The people continually demanded the dismissal of Van Maanen especially, who, they conceived, was the author of the recent odious prosecutions of the press: — instead of yielding to which, the King sanctioned thirty new prosecutions in a single month. In

the state of violent exaltation of national feeling, which pervaded the Belgian provinces in consequence of the various causes which we have detailed, it was evident that insurrection was a very possible, not to say probable event, even had nothing occurred in France to give impulse to the popular excitement. Inducements enough, and readiness enough, to rise against the government, already existed in Belgium; the French Revolution afforded the Belgians what alone they wanted, the moral stimulus arising from the successful example of a kindred people, and assurance against any risk of foreign interposition.

Tidings of the events of the Three Days at length reached Brussels. No language can do justice to the excitement which they produced throughout Belgium, the contrary feelings of deep apprehension on the one hand and of wild exultation on the other, which pervaded the whole country. Yet a month elapsed before the people took up arms, and even then it was not any specific act of oppression, like the French Ordinances of July, which proved the immediate occasion of revolt, but circumstances in themselves trivial. The poorer classes of the people, such as the workmen in the manufactories of Brussels, were suffering at this time from the dearth of food, and a temporary stagnation of business, which predisposed them to act in opposition to the government. They clamored against the *moulure* and the *abattage* as contributing to the dearth of provisions; and the press did not fail to furnish them with abundance of arguments and topics of reproach suited to the occasion. The government was, of course, exceedingly alarmed, and at a loss what line of policy to pursue. The *fêtes* on occasion of the King's birth-day were approaching, at which medals were to be distributed, and public

festivities to take place. On Sunday, August 22nd, placards appeared in Brussels in these words: — LUNDI FEU D'ARTIFICE, MARDI ILLUMINATION, MERCREDI REVOLUTION. This being a sequence altogether distasteful to the government, the fireworks of Monday, and the illuminations of Tuesday, were countermanded; but revolution did not the less arrive on Wednesday.

The Belgic Revolution, however well justified by previous measures of the government, actually began with mob-outrage at Brussels, and not with acts of violence on the part of the King. On the evening of the 25th of August the well known opera of *La Muette de Portici* was played, although it had previously been forbidden, from the political nature of the incidents of the piece. An immense crowd assembled on the Place de la Monnaie in front of the theatre, far more than could obtain admission to the play; and at the close of the representation, some one proposed to the excited multitude an attack on the neighboring office of the *National*, a newspaper in the interest of the government. In an instant the mob dashed in the windows, and were breaking down the doors, when it occurred to them that the establishment of the chief editor, Libry-Bagnano, a bookseller of the Rue de la Madeleine, was a much better object of vengeance, and thither they repaired. Thither accordingly the multitude rushed, speedily broke open the doors, demolished the furniture, scattered the books and papers, and would undoubtedly have killed Libry-Bagnano himself, had he not happily been absent. The mob had now acquired confidence and boldness from success, and not a few of them had strengthened their courage by excessive drinking. Composing a dense mass, which defied the approaches of the police officers, they proceeded, about mid-

night, to divide themselves into separate detachments, bent on different objects of mischief.

One group, preceded by a banner made of Libry-Bagnano's curtains, shouting 'Liberty! Justice!' — marched to the Place Royale, but were persuaded by the officer on guard to abstain from any act of outrage in that quarter. Another group proceeded to the Palais de Justice, and smashed the windows of the court of assizes, amid cries of 'A bas Van Maanen! Vive De Potter!' A third party sacked the house of M. Van Knyff, the Director of Police. The whole city, by this time, was filled with movement and confusion, and the mob, becoming more and more animated as the work of riot went on, repaired in a mass to the hotel of M. Van Maanen situated in the square of the Petit-Sablon. They forced the gates, overpowered the few soldiers who attempted to withstand their fury, broke the glass, and shattered the furniture and threw it from the windows. After this, consulting a few moments, they deliberately set fire to the woodwork of the building and remained on the spot several hours to enjoy its conflagration, and make sure of its total destruction. Hitherto the people had been wholly unarmed; but they hastened to break open the shops for the sale of arms, and they had also disarmed some of the soldiers; so that when daylight came, Brussels exhibited a terrific spectacle of lawless popular violence.

During the whole night the conduct of the troops had been altogether extraordinary; and were it not that their commanders were men wholly in the interest of Holland, they would have been open to the imputation of treason, from which they can escape only by pleading total incapacity to meet the exigencies of the crisis. Generals De Bylandt, Vauthier, and Aberson had under their

command 1500 men at different posts in the city; but they refused to take any decided steps to suppress the riot, and even submitted to the greatest indignities in their own persons. It would seem that the events of Paris were continually before their eyes, and had completely paralysed all their energies.

Towards morning, however, matters assumed a more serious aspect. The armed rioters began to patrol the streets, firing their pieces at random. Two battalions of troops now marched against the rioters, sometimes firing in the air, and sometimes at the people, so that a few lives were lost and many persons were wounded, especially in the Place du Sablon. Brussels wore the appearance, at this time, of a city taken by assault. — Troops were marching up and down the streets, firing by sections; the houses were shut and their windows crowded with anxious faces; groups of half-clad wretches, armed with muskets, sabres, pikes, and clubs, were seen rushing out from the byelanes and corners; and all the sights and sounds, that met the eye or ear, indicated a scene of war and confusion. In this hour of licentiousness and consternation, some of the most respectable inhabitants repaired to the Hôtel de Ville, where the city authorities had been assembled the chief part of the night, and requested that they might be armed for their common protection, engaging, if the troops would leave the city, that they themselves would become responsible for the public tranquillity.

The city magistrates lent a favorable ear to this proposal, and authorized them to supply themselves with arms from a public *dépôt*, which they did immediately. Unfortunately, the mob also went in pursuit of arms, and after resistance from the troops, procured them in common with the

better class of citizens. But as the military were withdrawn from the streets on the appearance of the armed citizens, the mob were induced to deliver up their arms, or to make sale of them in the course of the day, so that by noon the Burgher Guard had acquired the ascendancy throughout Brussels. Further to allay the public alarm, the Burgomaster and Echevins issued a proclamation, abolishing the *mouture*, exhorting the citizens to abstain from all additional disorders, inviting the military by no means to interfere, and recommending measures of defence and security in the different quarters of the city. Straggling parties continued to commit disorders, but were quickly dispersed, partly by force, and partly by persuasion of the respectable citizens. In the afternoon, the soldiers were concentrated in the Place du Palais between the Park and the King's Palace, which was equivalent to evacuating the city; and at the same time the old Brabançon tricolor flag, of black, yellow, and red, was displayed from the Hôtel de Ville. In fact, the whole population, as if by concert, assumed the Brabant cockade and scarf in lieu of the Orange colors, while the enrolment of the citizens in the various sections proceeded with so much enthusiasm, that before night the Burgher Guard numbered 5000 men.

Let us pause here a moment, and consider the complexion of events. The rioters of Wednesday night were to all appearance mere vulgar incendiaries, acting without any specific political aim, — wreaking their resentment, it is true, upon public agents whom they detested, but not uttering a word of revolution or change of government. The garrison of the city being unable to reduce this unruly mob to order, the substantial burghers voluntarily armed themselves as a matter of necessity, and effected that which the troops were una-

ble to accomplish. The burghers took up arms to keep the peace, not to break it, — to maintain the public authorities, not to substitute new ones in their place. Such was the pretence, such is the received construction, of the transactions of Wednesday night and of Thursday; but it is difficult to credit these representations.

It has been affirmed, even, that the rioters of Wednesday, ostensibly an extemporaneous rabble, were hired agents of the leading Belgian patriots, — of the clergy, nobles, advocates, and journalists, who sought the separation of Belgium and Holland. Certain it is, that they looked on very patiently when the outrages of the night were committed; and particular incidents of the morning were exceedingly suspicious in their nature. Thus, in the popular narratives of the Revolution, the mode, in which the mob procured arms in spite of the opposition of the burghers, has altogether the aspect of concert.* And it seems rather singular that the burghers should rely so confidently on

* Dés six heures du matin plusieurs bourgeois respectables étaient réunis auprès des magistrats à l'Hôtel-de-Ville, pour demander des armes et supplier de faire retirer la troupe, se faisant forts d'apaiser le peuple. Nommer ces citoyens zélés serait bien inutile; ils n'ont précédé la masse des habitants que de quelques heures, le devoir impérieux commandait, nul ne cherchait la gloire, mais nul ne craignait le danger.

Leur demande fut accueillie comme elle devait l'être par nos magistrats, qui les dirigèrent vers le dépôt d'armes de la garde communale, où ils trouvèrent la ligne en bataille dans la cour. Ils furent aussitôt armés, et les patrouilles de gardes bourgeoises spontanées parcoururent la ville; mais elles durent remonter vers la caserne pour s'opposer à un rassemblement de peuple qui demandait des armes; ils le dispersèrent dans la cour; en peu d'instans, la foule grossit considérablement. Les troupes de ligne déclarèrent devoir défendre le dépôt qui leur était confié.

Alors ce faible rassemblement de bourgeois quitte les armes, et veut se présenter au peuple en tournant l'hôtel par

the willingness of the mob to sell their muskets, and thus suffer themselves to be disarmed. Then again the ready submission of the mob indicates, that they were under the influence of those, to whom they deferred so promptly. 'Withdraw the soldiers,' say the burghers, 'and give us arms, and we will answer for the populace;' and truly they appear to have had reason to suppose they might safely undertake for so much. If all this were not simply adroit management, it is a wonderful instance of a lucky succession of circumstances.

However this may be, the magistrates and the burghers acted in the most harmonious temper of professed legality, while the Orange insignia were every where effaced or withdrawn, and the Brabant flag floated over the City Hall. The populace employed themselves very diligently in tearing down the royal arms wherever they appeared, as also in destroying the arcades, and other constructions prepared for the *fêtes* of the birth day; in all which they received no opposition from the magistrates or the Burgher Guard. And excepting some attempts to destroy machinery in the manufactories, the night of the 26th passed off tranquilly. The troops bivouacked on the Place Royale, where, by agreement with the citizens, they were to remain until special instructions could be had from the King.

On the 27th the organization of the Burgher

une autre issue, espérant mieux réussir en se mêlant à lui sans armes ; mais pendant le court espace du trajet, une fenêtre est brisée, la porte s'ouvre, plusieurs décharges sont faites et le sang coule ; la foule envahit l'hôtel et se rend maîtresse des armes et des munitions. Heureusement les bourgeois entrèrent pêle-mêle avec les hommes de la basse classe, et chacun s'arma à volonté ; ce fut là qu'on put déplorer le mode d'organisation de la garde communale, et regretter que la population saine et raisonnable ne fût point armée d'avance. — *Evénemens arrivés à Bruxelles*, p. 10.

Guard was completed, by the general enrolment of the great body of the respectable inhabitants of the city. Some disturbances occurred in the course of the day, among the poorer class of workmen, who were actually suffering from want of necessary food, and continually cried out for 'Bread, or work!' Arrangements were accordingly made for supplying them with both bread and labor, large numbers of them being set to work upon some unfinished public improvements about the city, and *cartes de pain*, tickets for bread, being distributed among the necessitous. Numerous public measures were made known during the day, by proclamations issued under the hand of the Burgomaster, L. de Wellens, such as the appointment of Baron Emmanuel d'Hooghvorst to be Commandant of the Burgher Guard, and various provisions made for the succor of the poor and for the preservation of public order.

Commissioners were chosen on the 28th, consisting of MM. Joseph d'Hooghvorst, Gendebien, Comte Félix de Mérode, Frederic de Sécus and Palmaert, charged to proceed to the Hague, and lay the grievances of the Belgians before the King. For meanwhile the other principal cities of Belgium, especially in the Walloon provinces, had armed themselves in imitation of Brussels, although no pretence of existing or apprehended outrage could be alleged by them in justification of the step. On Thursday it was a riotous popular assemblage in Brussels: on Saturday it was a national insurrection throughout Belgium. But, in their address to the King, the *Bruxellois* used the language of respect and loyalty, claiming the high merit of restoring and maintaining tranquillity, but reminding him that the public discontent was deep-rooted,—that every where men denounced the administrative system of his Ministers for

mistaking or disregarding the wishes and wants of his people. While they supplicated him to put an end to their just causes of grievance, they asked for nothing specific, except the immediate convocation of the States General; the particular topics of redress being *verbally* committed to the Commissioners. These were the matter of ministerial responsibility, the dismissal of Van Maanen, the removal of the Superior Court to Belgium, and the equal division of public employments between his subjects of either nation.

The Commissioners did not return from the Hague to make report of their success until the 2nd of September. In the interim important events had occurred at Brussels. On Monday, August 30th, it was announced that the Prince of Orange, and his brother Prince Frederic, had arrived at the Palace of Laeken, a few miles from Brussels, followed by a considerable body of troops marched up from the frontier garrisons of Holland, some of them hastily conveyed as far as Antwerp by means of steamboats. King William, it appeared, without waiting for the Deputation sent to him from Brussels, had summoned troops, and commissioned his two sons to proceed into the disaffected provinces, with the power of redressing their grievances, or of restoring obedience if need were by force. The Dutch papers, also, treated the disturbances in Belgium as a rebellion, and reports were current of its being contemplated by the Dutch to raise volunteers to march upon Brussels. All this wore an aspect sufficiently ominous. At Laeken, the Princes had an interview with one of the Ministers, M. Van Gobbelschroy, who happened to be at Brussels, and with the three Generals before mentioned, in consequence of which, before proceeding to any ulterior measures, the Prince of Orange despatched an aide-

de-camp requesting an interview with M. d'Hooghvorst, the Commandant of the Burgher Guard.

Accordingly, a Deputation, consisting of M. d'Hooghvorst and of MM. the Baron Vander Smissen, Chevalier Hotten, Count Vanderburch, Rouppe, and Van de Weyer, repaired to Laeken. They were charged to express to the Princes the desire that they would enter Brussels escorted only by the Deputies, '*in order to convince themselves of the excellent spirit of the Burgher Guard and of all the citizens, equally resolved to maintain order and to DEFEND THEIR LIBERTY.*' This very ambiguous proposition, conveying the fixed purpose of revolution in the courteous language of pretended respect, proved, it may well be conceived, somewhat puzzling to the Princes and their advisers. The Deputies returned with the unsatisfactory intelligence that the Princes refused to enter alone, bearing at the same time an informal writing of the following tenor, addressed by the Princes to the Deputation: —

'You may tell the brave *bourgeoisie* of Brussels, that the Princes are at the gate of this royal residence, and open their arms to all who choose to approach them. They are disposed to enter the city, surrounded by the *bourgeoisie*, and followed by the military force destined to relieve the burghers in the painful service of *surveillance* which they have thus far discharged, so soon as the colors and standards, forbidden by law, shall have been laid aside, and the insignia, which the multitude has caused to disappear, shall have been replaced.'

A Proclamation, embracing this paper, was widely distributed on Tuesday the 31st, it having been arranged that the troops should remain quietly at Vilvorde, until the city authorities could have time to consider the proposition of the Princes. The publication of such tidings produced an extraordinary excitement throughout the city. — Preparations were immediately begun for a vig-

orous resistance to the troops. Barricades were constructed by tearing up the pavements and overturning carriages *à la mode de Paris*, and orders were given to the Burgher Guard to hold themselves in readiness to be called out at a moment's warning. Meanwhile a second Deputation induced the Prince of Orange to enter the city the next day accompanied only by his staff. Early in the morning the arrangement was announced in the following documents: —

‘ PROCLAMATION.

‘ H. R. H. The Prince of Orange will arrive today with his staff only, and without troops: — he requests that the Burgher Guard proceed in advance of him.

‘ The Deputies have guaranteed the security of his person, and that he shall have liberty to enter the city with the Burgher Guard, or retire as he may judge meet.

‘ ORDER OF THE DAY.

‘ MM. the chiefs of sections are invited to assemble precisely at ten this day, with their respective sections in arms, and perfectly equipped, in the square of the Hôtel de Ville, where they will form line in double files, in order to go and receive H. R. H. the Prince of Orange.’

The scheme of the burghers was evident. — They wished to impress on the Prince a lively sense of the formidable attitude of the Belgians, with a view to the concessions which they demanded from his father. A brilliant assemblage of the civic militia, to the number of eight or ten thousand men, was marshalled before the Hôtel de Ville at the appointed time, with the Brabant colours displayed, and surrounded by so many objects calculated to kindle the spirit of nationality. The Prince was received by them at the gate of Laeken, and was compelled to pass through their lines ranged along the street, like a captive, rather than the son and representative of their sovereign. Despite of his extreme reluctance, he was

forced to proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, instead of going directly to the Palace as he desired, and also found himself obliged to make a speech of affected gratitude for the services the burghers had rendered in preserving the public order, while he could not but regard them in his heart as armed revolutionists. On reaching the Palace, at last, he discharged the regular troops from doing further duty there, committing that part of the city also to the Burgher Guard.

On Wednesday, the 1st of September, the Prince announced that he had appointed a Commission, to consult together and propose such measures as they should deem suitable to restore the customary march of lawful authority. The Commissioners were MM. the Dukes d'Ursel and d'Aremberg; General Aubremé; Vander Fosse, Governor of the Provinces; DeWellens, Burgomaster of Brussels; Emmanuel Vanderlinden d'Hooghvorst, Commandant of the Burgher Guard; Rockaert and Stevens, members of the Regency or municipality of Brussels; — to whom MM. Rouppe and Van der Weyer were afterwards added, in behalf of the more active members of the Burgher Guard. They were to sit on the 2nd of September.

Late in the afternoon of that day the Deputation to the King, who had returned from the Hague the preceding night, made public a detailed report of the result of their mission, which was totally unsatisfactory. The King received them courteously, discussed every thing temperately, and professed a desire to tranquillize and relieve his subjects, but gave no encouragement that he would make or promote any one of the changes which they were charged to demand; — except that he had, of himself, already summoned a meeting of the States General for the 13th of September. This report excited throughout the city the

liveliest emotion, which was not allayed by a Proclamation, posted up the same evening by the Commission sitting at the Palace. This Proclamation, while it exhorted the burghers to await with patience the result of the deliberations of the Commission, which, it said, was not instructed to adopt resolutions, but to propose measures useful to the country, — contained a very significant clause, to the effect, that ‘The support of tranquillity and order exacted the continuance of the service which the brave *bourgeoisie* had undertaken; wherefore it seemed desirable that the Burgher Guard should be *regularized* and made to receive a character of stability.’ Men were at a loss how to understand this Proclamation, taking it altogether; but the next morning unravelled the mystery. Friday, the 3rd of September, was the crisis of the movement; for the masque was then thrown off, and the Belgians spoke out decidedly and plainly in the language of revolution. It will be observed that, in all the prior proceedings, the demands of the Belgians had been limited to various modifications of law, and alterations in the policy of the government, all within the pale of the Constitution. But on the morning of this day, many of the leading Belgian patriots had long interviews with the Prince, and persuaded him to approve of the entire separation of the northern and southern sections of the Kingdom, with no other point of contact but the reigning dynasty. A proposition to this effect was unanimously adopted by the Commission: — whereupon such members of the States General as were in Brussels, the staff of the Burgher Guard, deputations from the sections and from the city of Liège, assembled at the Palace, and enacted what the journals of the day styled ‘a touching scene,’ and which at any rate

may be fairly denominated ‘une comédie larmoyante,’ — a crying comedy.

‘The Prince asked of the assembly what were their wishes. They replied, by acclamation, the separation of Belgium and Holland. — ‘But,’ said the Prince, ‘do you promise then to remain faithful to the dynasty?’ — ‘We swear it!’ they exclaimed with enthusiasm. — ‘If the French entered Belgium,’ he continued, ‘would you join them?’ — ‘No! no!’ they replied. — ‘Will you say with me, *Vive le Roi!*’ — ‘Not until our wishes are heard,’ they returned; ‘but *Vive le Prince!* — *Vive la liberté!* *Vive la Belgique!*’ — And the Prince burst into tears, and those present embraced each other mutually amid universal enthusiasm; and the old generals, who were mixed in the press, could not contain their emotion. The Prince conceived how pure and generous was the Belgian Revolution: from this moment, the separation was a thing resolved, and the separation is equivalent, of itself alone, to a redress of all grievances.’*

What more? The Prince was now a party to the proposed separation. He engaged to hasten to the Hague and exert all his credit with the King to bring about an event, which the Belgians so ardently desired, and which the Dutch, it would seem, were not unwilling to concede; for if an integral union of the two countries was odious to the Belgians, it was no favorite with the Dutch, who were sick of the perpetual annoyance they underwent from their uneasy fellow subjects. — Seemingly, therefore, matters were now in a train satisfactory on all hands. It only remained for the King to ratify the conditions made between the Belgians and the Prince, combining the severance of Belgium and Holland and the existing rights of the House of Orange, and to arrange the modifications of constitution demanded by the new state of things: — in which event, the Belgians would have accomplished their object by the mere display of force, and without incurring or

* Précis des Evénemens arrivés à Bruxelles, p. 52.

inflicting any serious loss of life. But the sequel disappointed all expectation, and tended strikingly to show how impossible it is to calculate with certainty upon the successive events of a revolution.

CHAPTER II.

Position of Troops.--King's Proclamation.--The Belgian Deputies.--Committee of Safety.--The States General.--The King's Speech.--Its Effect.--Excitement in Brussels.--Rising of the People.--Frederic attacks Brussels.--The Four Days.--Frederic retreats.--The Prince of Orange.--Bombardment of Antwerp.--National Congress.--De Potter's Resignation.--Declaration of Independence.--Adoption of Monarchy.--Exclusion of House of Orange.--Russia.--The Constitution.--Election of the Duc de Nemours.--Regency.--Conferences of London.--Luxembourg.--Election of Leopold.--Hostilities.--Treaty of November.--Leopold's Marriage.--Siege of Antwerp.--Remarks.

IF William had frankly adopted the Revolution as it stood, — if he had expressed his decided concurrence in the conduct of the Prince of Orange, and acted accordingly, — the Belgic provinces would assuredly have continued subject to the House of Nassau. Separation, — separation from the Dutch, and from Dutch officers whether of civil or military administration, — was almost the universal cry of the Belgians; but they still adhered to the dynasty, and apparently in all sincerity of purpose. And William may therefore thank himself for the ultimate loss of one half of his Kingdom. For it was the temporizing and

doubtful policy of his cabinet, followed by the rash hostilities of his army, which rendered Belgium wholly independent of him, and occasioned its transfer to a new dynasty.

When the Prince of Orange departed for the Hague, the troops remained at Tervueren, Vilvorde, and Cortenberg, near the city, and in such an attitude, as to create well grounded alarm in Brussels. MM. Joseph d'Hooghvorst and Gendebien were deputed to remonstrate with Prince Frederic on the subject; and he gave the strongest assurances that no troops should enter Louvain or Brussels, and that the camp of Vilvorde should be broken up and the soldiers distributed in cantonments, and that the troops should immediately quit Cortenberg and Tervueren. — This was on the 6th of September. The next day a royal Proclamation, under date of the 5th, was received at Brussels, and produced great excitement among the citizens. This Proclamation was reserved, diplomatic, ambiguous. It seemed carefully so conceived as to give no clear indication of the future intentions of the King. Instead of manfully adopting the movement, and placing himself at his head, he spoke of the grand object of the Belgians only in these oracular phrases: —

‘ We invite them (the States General) to examine whether the evils, which afflict the country, depend upon any vices in the national institutions, and whether there be occasion to modify the latter, and especially whether the relations, established by treaties and by the Fundamental Law between the two great divisions of the Kingdom, ought, for the common interest, to be changed in form or in nature.’

All this was evidently, and of set purpose, wholly indefinite; and a subsequent clause of the Proclamation, in which the King spoke of his own personal views, seemed to indicate that nothing direct or straightforward was to be expected from him individually. He says:

‘ Disposed to contribute frankly and loyally, and by large and decisive measures, to the welfare of the country, we are not the less resolved to maintain with constancy *the legitimate rights of all parts of the Kingdom without distinction*, and to proceed only in ways *regular* and conformable to the oaths we have *taken and received*.’

If these words meant any thing, they could be understood only as pointing to a slow procrastinating discussion of the Charter, in the view of a formal amendment of it by formal means: — which was a course of proceeding the reverse of what the circumstances of the crisis demanded. At this time, MM. Le Hon, De Brouckere, De Sécus, De Celles, Cornet de Grez, and some others of the Belgian Deputies, were already in Brussels, and they had, the day before, invited all their colleagues to repair thither without delay, to consult and act in concert for the common good. On the appearance of the King’s Proclamation, several of them proceeded to the headquarters of Prince Frederic to remonstrate with him on the subject; but all that he could or would do was to promise to transmit any written communication of theirs to the Hague.

The tenor of the Proclamation, so vague and illusory, seems to have induced the Deputies, contrary to their original intent, to attend the session of the States General. The gazettes of the 8th state the reasons for this change of purpose, and show the relative position of things at that moment.

‘ Our Deputies are about to proceed to the Hague. — Weighty considerations, in the beginning, seemed to oppose this journey, and it had been half decided not to undertake it; but, since frantic menaces have been launched against them, there would be cowardice in abstaining from it. The Dutch might have thought that fear retained our Deputies, and this was already reason enough for departing.

‘ Moreover, the separation being fixed in principle, should

this be accomplished by force alone, or was it better to vanquish by force and legality combined? After having conquered by arms, is it not the surest and wisest course to *regularize* and to confirm, in accordance with royalty and with Holland, the new order of things, wherein we are all in common interested? Are there not arrangements to be made in favor of commerce and industry, and may not such arrangements be best concluded amicably?

‘These reasons appear to us preponderant, and cause us to applaud heartily the departure of our Deputies for the Hague. Let them speak forcibly; let them conduct firmly; let them treat promptly.

‘If we see their departure with satisfaction, we expect their journey to be decisive, and that in a very few days all will be consummated.

‘There is, then, to be a pause in the movement, a pause brief, short, but which the resolution of the Deputies renders inevitable. Meanwhile, rest we on our arms, and augment our numbers; for if affairs do not now take a satisfactory turn, we shall have to adopt a determination, which may preserve our country from anarchy.

‘The Belgians and their government are now *en présence*. They must act by their own proper forces and count only on themselves. If we fall under the yoke of Holland once more, it will be our fault; it will be, that we shall have been wanting in courage, in union, and above all in perseverance. — The government wishes to enfeeble us by delays, to destroy us by means of intestine disorders. Let us demonstrate that its hope is vain, and that we are able to conquer independence at whatever price. Firmness, union, perseverance, these are our means of salvation.’

In conformity with the ulterior views made public in these articles, the Bruxellois were busily engaged in the preparation of cartridges, while they received aid in arms and men from other cities, and from Liège, especially, a considerable body of armed volunteers with two field pieces. And on the 13th a Proclamation appeared on the part of the Regency of Brussels, announcing the appointment of a Committee of Public Safety, consisting of eight persons selected by the Regency from a list of sixteen supplied by the Sections. They were MM. the Prince de Ligne,

Duc d'Ursel, Frederic de Sécus, Comte Félix de Mérode, Gendebien, Van de Weyer, Rouppe, and Meeus; and the general objects committed to their charge were declared to be, — 1. To assure the maintenance of the dynasty; 2. To maintain the principal of the separation of the North and South; and 3. To take all necessary measures in the interest of commerce, industry, and public order. This, of course, was a government more purely revolutionary than the mixed authority of the Regency and the Burgher Guard, which had controlled public affairs since the 25th of August. It was a measure justified, in the eyes of the Belgians, by the ambiguous terms of the King's Proclamation, coupled with the incessant movement of troops on the line of communication between Antwerp and Brussels.

On the 13th the States General assembled at the Hague. The King's Speech had been expected in Brussels with extreme impatience; and when it came, it produced universal agitation, from its vague generality on the subject of the grand question of the separation of Belgium and Holland. Instead of directly and positively recommending this measure, as the Belgians conceived he ought to have done, he touched upon it in the language of studied obscurity. After alluding to the disturbances in Brabant, he says:

‘I invoke all your wisdom, all your calmness, all your firmness, in order that, strong in the concurrence of the representatives of the nation, I may, in concert with them, adopt such measures as the welfare of the country demands.’

‘In more than one quarter the opinion is manifested that, to obtain this object, it would be proper to proceed to a revision of the Fundamental Law and even to a separation of provinces, which treaties and the Constitution have united.’

‘This question, nevertheless, can be resolved only in the forms prescribed by the Fundamental Law itself, which we have solemnly sworn to observe.’

While the Speech was open, and in a still greater degree, to all the objections alleged against the Proclamation, it gave particular offence, by various expressions, to the Belgian Deputies, who were many of them parties to the movement in Brussels, and who therefore felt themselves to be involved in the exceptionable terms applied to the movement itself. The Speech was in Dutch, also, and thus jarred upon the prejudices of the Belgians. On the other hand, the Dutch members were equally sensitive; for when the President of the Chamber announced the object of the session in French, preparatory to reading a message from the King, a Dutch Deputy, named Byleveld, rose and said in Dutch, that having heard the presiding officer pronounce some words in a language, which he (M. Byleveld) *did not choose to comprehend in that place*, and not understanding, therefore, that any object of deliberation was regularly or legally before the assembly, he could not take part in its deliberations, or any longer continue present; — upon which he left the hall. It must have been sufficiently apparent from these and other circumstances, that the two nations were in no frame of mind to continue to be jointly represented in a single legislative body. The message from the King was in the following words, according to the forms of address in use with the States General: —

NOBLE AND MIGHTY LORDS:

‘ In pursuance of what we made known to your assembly, at the opening of the present extraordinary session, and previously to the nation by our Proclamation of the 5th of the month, we desire your noble mightnesses to take into mature and serious consideration without delay,

‘ 1. Whether experience has shown the necessity of modifying the national institutions;

‘ 2. Whether in that case the relations, established by treaties and by the Fundamental Law between the two great di-

visions of the Kingdom, ought, for the common interest, to be changed in form or nature.

‘It will be agreeable to us to receive, as promptly as the importance of the subject will permit, a frank and legal communication of the opinions of the representatives of the Belgic nation* on these grave questions, in order to advise with your noble mightnesses afterwards, according to circumstances, as to the measures proper for realizing their desire.’

‘The Hague, September 13th, 1830.

‘WILLIAM.’

The mode of proceeding, designated by the Speech and by this communication, involved a delay of several months; for less time could not have sufficed to carry through the proposed separation as a mere amendment of the Fundamental Law, and in the forms prescribed by that instrument. And in the spirit of procrastination, which dictated such a plan, it was three weeks before the slow-moving Dutchmen had prepared their Address in reply to the King. At length, on the 30th of September, the States General proposed the separation of Belgium and Holland, not without opposition from MM. Doncker Curtius, Van Sytzama, and others of the more violent of the Dutch Deputies, who insisted that ‘the rebels’ should be reduced to order by military force, before any resolution was voted upon the measure of separation. They maintained that it was wrong to deliberate on the affairs of Belgium in presence of ‘rebellion.’ They proposed an amnesty for the generality of the ‘revolted,’ and the exemplary punishment of the chiefs; reserving to themselves afterwards to determine what was needful to reestablish the reign of the laws after a stable and permanent system. The Belgic Deputies abstained from participation in these discussions. Mean-

* Here, as in the Speech, the word ‘Belgic’ was affected employed to designate all the inhabitants of the Netherlands.

while the *holding back* of the King upon the great point of separation had brought on a new crisis in Brabant, which totally changed the state of the question, and left nothing for the States General to decide, except whether they should make war upon Belgium as a state independent alike of Holland and of her King.

The Speech arrived at Brussels on the 14th of September; and deputies from the Sections were invited to meet the Committee of Safety and the chief officers of the Burgher Guard, early the next morning at the Hôtel de Ville, to take the whole subject into consideration. They prepared and subscribed a warm address directed to the Belgic Deputies, commenting in very earnest language upon the Speech from the throne, demanding the immediate recognition of the separation of the two nations, and the removal of the Dutch troops from Belgium, and urging the Deputies, if they could not immediately obtain 'the guaranties indispensable in the actual crisis,' to refuse 'to legalize, by their presence at the Hague, hostile views and measures, which would consummate the ruin of their country.' On the same day, another address to the Belgic Deputies, of the same purport with the first, but brief and decisive, was subscribed by great numbers of individuals assembled in Brussels from other towns in Belgium. Messengers were despatched to the Hague to ensure the safe and formal delivery of these communications.

Matters now began to assume a threatening aspect. The *Courrier des Pays-Bas*, the organ of the more active revolutionists, declared that no alternative remained for Belgium but to fight for liberty or submit to be slaves; that two adversary nations were now *en présence*, the one struggling for its deliverance, the other to prolong its

oppression; and that now was the decisive moment to be free, or to be enslaved once and forever. Brussels was filled with unemployed workmen, impatient of a condition of uncertainty, who demanded a decision, a crisis, a conclusion of some sort, to their present sufferings from the stagnation of business, and who were clamorous for bread and for arms. The more peaceably disposed citizens, on the other hand, felt anxious and alarmed, afraid to oppose the movement, yet desirous at any price to secure the restoration of tranquillity. The revolutionary leaders organized a political club, called the Central Union, to serve as a substitute for a legislative assembly. M. de Stassart having quitted the Hague, as deeming his continuance there of no utility, arrived at Brussels, and published a statement of the reasons of his conduct. The messengers, despatched with the two addresses to the Deputies, also returned, making known that the latter were so situated at the Hague as to be totally deprived of the power of deliberating or acting to any good purpose, and describing the hostile temper and language of some of the Dutch members of the Chamber. — All these incidents, between the 15th and 19th of September, combined to inflame, to the highest degree, the popular leaders, and indeed the whole mass of the population of Brussels. — In short, everything tended towards a state of mere anarchy, where chance or the strongest arm would decide the fate of Belgium.

Under such circumstances, the slightest causes of excitement were enough to produce confusion, and such causes could not fail to arrive. Troops of volunteers had pushed on towards Vilvorde and Tervueren to reconnoitre. They seized four horses belonging to gendarmes; and stopped a diligence, which might, they supposed, occasion

them some difficulty, by giving intelligence to the royal troops on the road. In consequence of this, the Committee of Safety, fearful of a collision with Prince Frederic, posted up a Proclamation on the 29th, formally disavowing and condemning what the volunteers had done. This incident was the spark which fired the train.

An immense crowd collected around the Hôtel de Ville. The auxiliaries from Liège, who were, of course, among the more zealous of the revolutionists, marched thither with banners flying and drums beating, followed by the populace of Brussels loudly demanding arms of the Committee of Safety, who professed to be, and perhaps were in fact, unwilling to comply with the request, although, it would seem, not unwilling they should obtain arms by other means. However this may be, amid the altercation between the Committee and the people, M. Rogier, an advocate of Liège, who had been the prominent individual of that important city in the movements there consequent upon the events of Brussels, came forward and addressed the crowd, promising to deliver to them forty muskets belonging to the Liégeois, and exhorting them to abstain from all acts of pillage, burning, or other violation of established order. The multitude accordingly followed M. Rogier to one of the barracks, where all the disposable arms were delivered up to the people.

If this was done for the purpose of raising up new and more efficient agents of revolution, and of shifting the responsibility of what was to ensue from the Burgher Guard to the populace, it is intelligible; and it is wholly inexplicable in any other point of view. For surely to give arms to a mob as the means of pacifying it is altogether absurd. As well might the armed traveller, when attacked by a highwayman, think to buy immuni-

ty for his person or purse, by delivering up his pistols. And thus it proved in this case. The people, who had succeeded in obtaining some arms, were now clamorous for more; and thus a violent agitation pervaded the city for the whole day. The populace, however, all this time, disavowed any purpose of hostility towards the Burgher Guard, and carefully abstained from committing outrages upon private property. It happened towards midnight, that some one from the crowd discharged a pistol, whether in the air or at a soldier of the Burgher Guard does not distinctly appear; at any rate the Guard thereupon fired into the crowd, killing one man and wounding several others; which, of course, exasperated the people, who continued to patrol the streets until morning, singing patriotic songs and overpowering some few posts of the Guard.

In the morning the popular agitation was at its height. Large companies of the populace had formed, which first disarmed numerous corps-de-garde of the civic militia, without any resistance, it would seem, on the part of the latter, and then proceeded to force the Hôtel de Ville, in order to get possession of the arms deposited there. — The Committee of Safety considered itself dissolved from this moment; and as, on the 26th of August, the Burgher Guard had been adroitly substituted for the mob, so, on the 20th of September, the mob was substituted for the Burgher Guard. ‘It is matter of admiration,’ say the journals of the day, ‘to observe the good discipline of these new guards of our city. Already many of our brave burghers are in their ranks, and *we cannot too earnestly exhort the rest to follow their example.*’ No regular authority, however, of any description now existed in Brussels; and the club of the Central Union assumed to appoint

a Provisional Government, consisting of MM. Vanderlinden d'Hooghvorst, Rogier, and Jolly, formerly an officer of engineers, — to whom, on the 26th, were added MM. the Count Félix de Mérode, Gendebien, and Van de Weyer.

When tidings of these events reached Prince Frederic, he deemed himself freed from all promises of neutrality, and prepared to march on Brussels with his entire force, consisting of not less than 12,000 men of all arms. On the 21st he issued a Proclamation previously to leaving his head-quarters at Antwerp, in which he announced his design to reestablish legal order in Brussels, and called on the Regency, the Committee of Safety, and the officers of the Burgher Guard, to make arrangements on their peril for the peaceable entrance of the troops, the disarming of the citizens, and the surrender of all the posts in the city. 'I bring you,' he says, 'the only true and efficacious remedy for the evils which afflict you, namely, the reestablishment of legal order. The national legions will enter your walls, in the name of the laws, and at the request of the best inhabitants, to relieve them all from a painful service, and to afford them aid and protection. The officers and soldiers, united under the flag of honor and of country, are your fellowcitizens, your friends, your brothers. They do not bring among you either reaction or vengeance, but order and repose. A generous oblivion will be extended over the faults and irregularities which circumstances have produced. The principal authors of acts too criminal to escape the severity of the laws,—strangers, who, abusing your hospitality, have come to organize disorder among you,—they and they alone will deservedly suffer.' Finally, after various particular directions, he adds that 'All resistance will be repelled by force of

arms, and the individuals guilty of resistance, who may fall into the hands of the public force, will be handed over to the tribunals for criminal prosecution.'

This Proclamation was in fact intended, and was received in Brussels, as a declaration of war against the armed inhabitants. The people, meantime, were not idle. Barricades were thrown up in the street; paving stones and other missiles were transported into the upper apartments of the houses; munitions of war and artillery were got ready; and it was determined to make a manful stand for the possession of the city and the independence of Belgium. During the 21st and 22nd the royal army was brought up to the city, so that on the night of the 22nd its advanced posts were stationed at the very gates. Some skirmishing occurred without the gates; but the citizens very soon ascertained that they stood no chance of contending successfully against a large army of disciplined troops in the open field. Late at night on the 22nd M. Ducpétiaux, one of the writers for the *Courrier des Pays-Bas*, who had been imprisoned at the same time with M. de Potter for an alleged libel on the government, undertook to proceed to the camp of Prince Frederic as a negotiator, to see if satisfactory terms could not be made without effusion of blood. Instead of treating with him, or regarding his proposals with silent neglect as coming from a person without authority to treat, Frederic sent him to Antwerp as a prisoner. If the Prince had made M. Ducpétiaux the bearer of an unqualified assurance of amnesty, it is not improbable that Brussels would have submitted in despair of withstanding so large a force: — by arresting him as a rebel, Frederic indicated pretty plainly what his associates had to

expect, and thus inspired them with the fury and animation of despair.

Brussels occupies the brow and declivity of a hill, and a level plain at the base of it watered by the river Senne, and thus consists of two great divisions, the upper and the lower city. The upper part of the city is altogether French in its language, manners, and appearance: the lower is just as decidedly Flemish. The upper part consists of noble and spacious streets and squares, containing the Park, the Palace, the principal public hotels, and the residences of the diplomatic and fashionable population: the lower abounds in crooked, narrow, dirty streets, where the poorer population chiefly resides. There are no fortifications surrounding the city, the old walls having been levelled and a series of boulevards laid out on their site, along the outer face of the ridge on which the upper city stands, from the *Porte de Halle* to the *Porte de Schaerbeek*, and thence along the northeasterly extremity of the city by the *Porte Guillaume*, or entrance of the great road from Vilvorde, Mechlin, and Antwerp. From the *Porte de Schaerbeek* a noble street, called *Rue Royale*, extends along the brow of the height near where it falls off into the lower city, to the entrance of the *Place Royale*, thus cutting off a parallelogram, of which almost one half is covered by the Park, and which also includes the two Palaces of the King and the Prince of Orange, extensive barracks of the cavalry, and the Palace of the States General. At the end of the Park towards the *Porte de Schaerbeek* the city may be entered by the *Porte* and *Rue de Louvain*, and at the opposite end by the *Porte* and *Rue de Namur* terminating in the *Place Royale*.

It will be self evident that the spacious streets and open squares of the region of the city around

the Park are least of all susceptible of being held by a city population against regular troops. On this account, as well as that it was the position naturally to be occupied by him as a preliminary step, Prince Frederic, on the morning of the 23rd, marched the great body of his army, consisting of about 10,000 men, into the upper city by the avenues of Schaerbeek and Louvain. He encountered some resistance from the citizens; but his artillery swept the straight and broad streets of this quarter, and enabled him to enter without serious loss or inconvenience. Thus, in the course of two hours, Frederic had obtained complete possession of the space between the Rue Royale and the Boulevard de l'Est, and this was all that he ever obtained. His repeated attempts on the rest of the city were defeated by the inhabitants, who kept up an irregular warfare against him during this and the three succeeding days, at the expiration of which he was compelled to evacuate the small portion of the city, which he had at any time occupied, and to retreat upon Antwerp, leaving victory and independence in the hands of the Belgians.

Contemporaneously with the entrance of the main body of the troops by the gates of Schaerbeek and Louvain, a strong column of cavalry and infantry presented itself at the Porte de Flandre on the lower side of the city. The Burgher Guard stationed there demanded of the troops whether they entered as friends or foes; to which they made answer that they came to deliver the burghers from the yoke of what they called the *canaille*. The troops were permitted to advance unmolested within a first barricade as far as a second, about two hundred *toises* within the city, near to the Marché aux Cochons, where they were suddenly arrested by a shower of missiles from the

windows and an irregular discharge of fire-arms, which threw them into disorder, and compelled them to fly, leaving behind their arms, their chief officers, and many of their number either prisoners or slain. This experiment proved so perfectly satisfactory that nothing further was undertaken by the Prince in that quarter. But similar attempts were made during the day from the upper part of the city with similar results. Troops were pushed forward by the boulevards in the rear of the Palaces, to the Porte de Namur, and attacks made, unsuccessfully, upon the people in the Place Royale, and in two of the streets which proceed downwards from the Rue Royale.

The warfare continued the next day (September 24th,) without any material change in the relative position of the parties. Early in the morning MM. Vanderlinden d'Hooghvorst, Rogier, and Jolly signified their acceptance of 'the trust forced upon them by circumstances,' and began by appointing General Van Halen, a Spaniard of Belgic extraction extensively known by the Narrative of his imprisonment in Spain, to be 'Commandant in Chief of the Active Forces.' Van Halen soon formed a staff, principally of foreigners, and succeeded in giving some degree of method to the efforts of the brave but undisciplined troops, whom he was called upon to command. The people held their own at least, through the day. They now felt confident of ultimate triumph, from observing the fruitless attempts of the troops to penetrate in any direction into the city. Some red-hot shot were fired from the Park, which occasioned the conflagration of a riding school, and served to exasperate, without intimidating, the citizens. Volunteers began to flock in from all sides, who lost no time in displaying their skill as marksmen; and when night came, the

soldiers found they had been engaged in battle forty eight hours, without seeing any prospect of its favorable termination.

The third day (September 25th) differs from the preceding only in this, that the people now acted with greater boldness, decision, and unity, and were themselves the assailants, pressing the troops on all sides, and pouring shot in upon them from the houses around the Park. The severest contest was for possession of the Hôtel de Bellevue, situated between the Place Royale and the Rue de Bellevue at one extremity of the Park; and in this the people were victorious.

Indeed, the result of the struggle was no longer matter of uncertainty. The army of Prince Frederic was becoming demoralized by continued failure to make head way, by frequent desertions, by great deficiency of supplies, and by the knowledge that the whole surrounding country was rising in arms to support the Bruxellois. On the 26th, therefore, Prince Frederic concentrated his forces for a combined attack on the Place Royale and the streets opening into the Rue Royale; and being repulsed at all points in the enterprise, nothing remained for him but an ignominious retreat, which he effected early on the morning of the 27th, without any opposition from the insurgents; and thus ended the Four Days of Brussels.

The Provisional Government immediately issued a Proclamation congratulating the people upon their success, and inviting them to assemble at the Park and take a provisory organization by companies and battalions. Late in the day M. de Potter arrived in Brussels. He was conducted in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville, and received there by the corps-de-garde with presented arms, after which he ascended to the balcony and made a public address to the multitude; and he was ad-

ded to the Provisional Government. His triumph and that of the Belgian patriots was now complete. They had achieved the independence of their country, its independence not only of Holland, but of the House of Orange. The Belgians represent the loss of the army to have risen as high as 2000 men, — the Dutch admit only of 600 in killed and wounded. The loss of the Belgians undoubtedly exceeded that of the Dutch. Three streets suffered extremely from the contest, those of Namur, Louvain, and Schaerbeek; a dozen houses on the boulevards were burnt; and several of the large hotels and private mansions near the Park were largely injured. But on the whole neither the loss of life nor the damage to property was so great, as might have been anticipated from so fierce a struggle in the very interior of a populous capital like Brussels.*

From this time the southern provinces ceased to be governed from the Hague. Every Dutch officer, civil or military, was carefully weeded out by the Provisional Government, who exacted from all public functionaries unreserved obedience to the new national authority, and convoked a National Congress. The King had ere now agreed to the separation, and appointed commissioners to settle its terms; but when tidings came of the disastrous defeat of his troops, he sent the Prince of Orange to Antwerp, in order, if possible, to arrest the tide of revolution by gentle means. The Prince was induced to issue a Proclamation, on the 16th of October, recognizing the full independence of the Belgians, and proposing himself to them as their sovereign. This overture met with no favor at Brussels, and gave offence at the

* In Littell's Museum, No. 104, are two instructive articles from English journals on this contest, and on the defence of unwall'd towns in general.

Hague. The commission of the Prince of Orange had been granted only on the 4th of October, and it was recalled by his father on the 20th of the same month. By the royal ordinance of that date, which terminated the authority of the Prince, it was announced that the Dutch government would be thenceforth confined to the northern provinces and to Luxembourg, and the actual separation of Belgium and Holland was thus officially recognized. At the same time, the fortresses of Antwerp, Maestricht, and Venloo, within the Belgian territory, were still held by Dutch troops, and those places were declared to be in a state of siege. — And the separation was not less agreeable to the Dutch than to the Belgians; for the Dutch Deputies, in an Address to the King, expressed their apprehension lest foreign nations might interfere to renew that 'disastrous union,' which, they said, had proved so mischievous to the interests of Holland.

All this period, although William had thus individually ceased to have any control over the Belgians, and the Hague was once more the capital of the Dutch provinces exclusively, yet a possibility existed, that the sovereignty of the new state of Belgium might be offered to the Prince of Orange. This possibility was extinguished forever by events which transpired at Antwerp. A body of Dutch troops remained on the road between Meehlin and Antwerp, continually pursued, however, by parties of the Belgians from Brussels. At length, the Dutch troops were compelled, partly by armed citizens of Antwerp and partly by the Brussels volunteers, to take refuge in the citadel, — a strong fortress, constructed at the side of Antwerp by the Spaniards, whose object in building it was quite as much to command the city, as to protect it against foreign aggression.

After the Dutch retired into this convenient stronghold, which may be considered impregnable when properly garrisoned and provisioned, a convention was entered into between General Chassé, the commander of the Dutch, on the one hand, and the burghers of Antwerp on the other, to the effect, that the troops in the citadel would not molest the citizens, provided the latter made no attack on the citadel. But, on the 27th of October, some hostile movements on the part of the volunteers having occurred, General Chassé commenced a furious bombardment of the city, as well from the citadel as from Dutch ships of war, which lay at anchor in the Scheldt. The cannonading lasted from four o'clock in the afternoon until eleven at night, with red hot balls and shells, which occasioned immense destruction of property although but little loss of life. Many buildings were consumed, and among others the *entrepot*, which was peculiarly exposed, as being situated directly between the citadel and the river, and in which there was a large amount of foreign property. The provocation received by General Chassé had been so slight, that this outrageous proceeding could not fail to be attributed to the Dutch jealousy of Antwerp, the commercial rival of Amsterdam. It was impossible not to recollect the pertinacious and but too successful efforts of the Dutch to destroy the trade of Antwerp, at the epoch of the separation of their provinces from Spain. The Dutch were known to regard with infinite jealousy the growing prosperity of this great commercial emporium at the present time. Under these circumstances, the bombardment of Antwerp by the Dutch troops raised a cry of indignation and vengeance throughout Belgium, which almost totally obliterated the

lingering attachment of the people to the House of Orange.

The Provisional Government at Brussels had convoked a Congress of the Belgic people to assemble at Brussels on the 10th of November. — Previously to the late Revolution, the members of the States General had been returned by the Provincial States acting as electoral colleges. For the Congress, however, the elections were made by the people acting immediately. In the exercise of this new franchise they proceeded with peaceful regularity, at the same time that they gave distinct manifestations of the parties into which they were prone to fall by their peculiar social state. In the country and in the smaller towns, they elected deputies from the *noblesse*, clergy, and great landed proprietors; while in the large cities their representatives were more generally manufacturers, capitalists, and professional men of distinction. All the partisans and trusted servants of the house of Orange were sedulously excluded from the Congress. And on the other hand, M. de Potter and M. Ducpétiaux were rejected by the electors of Brussels, who thus pronounced their disapprobation of the ultra republican or infidel opinions of those two prominent statesmen.

When the Congress met, it was found that one hundred and fifty, out of two hundred members elect, were present to attend the first sitting. M. de Potter opened the business of the meeting by a speech of considerable length, as the organ of the Provisional Government. He gave an exposition of the wrongs of the Belgians which had led to the expulsion of the House of Orange, and explained the acts of the Provisional Government. At the same time he announced the fact of the interposition of the Allies, who, by the conference,

of London, as we shall presently state, had undertaken to adjust the differences between Belgium and Holland.

Before the Congress had taken any definitive measures on the subject of this address, all the members of the Provisional Government, except M. de Potter, sent in their resignations, conceiving that their functions ceased with the meeting of the representatives of the people. M. de Potter declined to participate in the act of resignation, on the ground that the Provisional Government and the Congress were equally the temporary creations of circumstances, independent of each other, and accountable to the people alone, from whom they respectively derived their authority. His idea was that when the Congress had deliberated upon and prepared a constitution for Belgium, and the Belgic people had organized a constitutional government accordingly, then the functions of the Congress and of the provisional government expired together. He stood alone, however, in the view of this subject. The Congress passed a vote of thanks to the Provisional Government for their services, and requested the members to act until a new government could be definitively organized. M. de Potter resigned, because he could not consent to hold his authority from the Congress, or to act with colleagues who differed so entirely with him in regard to the tenure of their power. And from this period, his influence and popularity in Belgium began to decline, giving place to the authority of men of less republican views of government. His magician's wand was broken. The clergy, so powerful in Belgium, had united with him to heave the House of Orange from the throne; but neither they, nor the great body of the intelligent

classes, were disposed to set up Irreligion in its place.

After completing their preliminary arrangements, the Congress entered, at their sitting of November 16th, on the serious objects of their appointment, to wit, the organization of the political institutions of the country. The subject was introduced by the Count de Celles, who proposed two resolutions,—one, that the Congress should issue a formal declaration of the independence of Belgium,—the other, that the Congress should not separate until the constitution of the new state was definitively settled. On these propositions a debate arose, on a motion of M. Rodenbach to couple with the declaration of independence, a declaration of the perpetual exclusion of the House of Orange from all exercise of power in Belgium. It was finally decided that this last motion was premature, inasmuch as the action of the Congress upon the questions of independence and form of government might preclude the necessity of taking any notice of the deposed dynasty.

The consideration of this point was further embarrassed by the situation of Luxembourg, which the House of Orange claimed to hold as a family appanage, and by a tenure different from that, by virtue of which they reigned in Belgium. It was this topic, which interposed the greatest difficulties in the way of the negotiations of the Allies, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter; and we defer entering into it until we come to that branch of our subject. It is sufficient to say, in regard to the discussion of the matter in the Belgic Congress, that this body resolved to consider Luxembourg as an integral portion of the new state, notwithstanding that, by the acts of the Con-

gress of Vienna, Luxembourg was made a member of the Germanic Confederation.

Finally, there was an active party in the Congress, who favored the incorporation of Belgium with France, and who desired, in proclaiming the independence of Belgium, to have it understood that the question of the future union of the countries should not be thereby prejudged. After a full consideration, however, of the various arguments for and against a separate national existence, the Congress unanimously joined in a declaration of unqualified independence, and ordered a manifesto to be drawn up, to justify in the eyes of Europe both the fact and the claim of independent sovereignty.

Having disposed of all these questions, the Congress proceeded, on the 19th of November, to consider of the form of government to be adopted. An attempt was made to procure the establishment of a republic, but failed, owing to the preponderance of the nobility and clergy, not only in the Congress, but throughout Belgium among the people themselves. It was decided, by a vote of 174 to 13, that the government should be a limited monarchy, in the most economical and liberal form of which such a system was susceptible.

Next followed the discussion of the proposition, renewed by M. Rodenbach, for the formal dethronement of King William, and the perpetual disfranchisement of the family of Orange-Nassau. Whatever disposition there might have been among a portion of the members to give the Prince of Orange, or some other branch of the family, a chance of reigning in Belgium, was removed in the course of the discussion by the disclosure of the officious interference of the Emperor of Russia in behalf of his family con-

nexions. The Russian government, it appears, had notified the Provisional Government at Brussels, through the medium of a French agent, that the separation of Belgium from Holland could be overlooked only on condition of the tender of the crown to the Prince of Orange. This ill timed menace sealed the fate of the family. Many moderate members of the Congress, who, while they were devotedly attached to independence, were also partial from personal or other considerations to the House of Orange, or at least unwilling to engage in vengeful persecution of that House, were rendered indignant by the meddlesome conduct of the Russian autocrat. Accordingly the sentence of exclusion against the house of Orange was passed by a large majority, when otherwise the result would have been by no means certain. The Belgians themselves, and indeed most of the European states, looked upon this measure as a kind of declaration of war, since it was prompted, as it were, by resentment of the threats of Russia; and it was coldly received by England and France, the two powers most likely to uphold the doctrine of non-intervention in the case of the Belgians.

In fact, while the Belgic Deputies proceeded to discuss the subject of a constitution for the Kingdom, as preliminary to the election of a king, movements were taking place around them, which, but for the happening of events wholly unforeseen, would have involved all Europe in war. It will hardly be denied, at the present time, that Russia and Prussia contemplated a forcible intervention in behalf of the House of Orange, and that Russia, especially, had resolved to attempt the restoration of the reign of legitimacy in France as well as Belgium. The Muscovite legions were about to be collected in Poland for this pur-

pose, and extensive preparations had been made for the speedy commencement of hostilities. — France, on the other hand, although her rulers were anxious to avoid war, even to the degree of excessive timidity and overwrought cautiousness of spirit, and therefore would gladly have steered clear of being involved with Belgium, yet saw herself compelled, by the necessities of her position, to make common cause with her neighbor. And from the obscure intimations of the English ministry, then controlled by the Duke of Wellington, there was reason to fear that the Belgians would have little succor from England, should Russia and Prussia cross the Rhine. But the evident tendency of events towards war was suddenly arrested by the breaking out of the Polish Revolution, which gave Nicholas ample employment at home,—and by the equally sudden overthrow of the tory cabinet in England, and the introduction of the whig party to power. These events left the Belgians to organize their domestic government undisturbed by foreign enemies.

They soon agreed to a constitution, having for its basis a limited monarchy of carefully defined powers, and two elective chambers of legislation. It only remained for them to select a prince to wear the new crown, thus added to the number of European dignities.

A little reflection taught the Belgians that they must look abroad for a suitable person to become their king; because, among themselves, no man existed of that transcendant rank united with decided patriotism, which was necessary to fix the popular voice at home. After much angry discussion on this subject, the contest among the Belgian Deputies seemed to be narrowed down to two individuals, the Duc de Nemours, a minor son of Louis Philippe, and the Duc de Leuchten-

berg, son of Prince Eugene Beauharnois. Owing, however, to the unsettled state of France, and the deep seated affection of a part of the people for the name of Napoleon, it speedily became apparent that the French government would not look with complacency on the elevation of any one of the Bonaparte family to the throne of Belgium. Indeed, the cabinet of Louis Philippe were so sensitive on this point, that representations were officially made to the Belgians, to the effect that the election of the Duc de Leuchtenberg would be an affront to France.

At length, on the 3rd of February, the Congress made choice of the Duc de Nemours, the vote being for De Nemours 97, for De Leuchtenberg 74, and for the Archduke of Austria 21. — The King elect was then proclaimed by the name of Louis Charles Philippe d'Orleans, Duc de Nemours, King of the Belgians, and a deputation of ten appointed to repair to Paris, and communicate the intelligence officially to Louis Philippe and his son. They were disappointed to find that, actuated by consideration of the interests of France, and the necessity of keeping her free from any such intimate alliance with Belgium as the possession of that country by a minor child of France must induce, — Louis Philippe declined the proffered crown in behalf of his son, and the Belgians were thus left to seek elsewhere for their monarch. Unable to arrive immediately at a satisfactory choice, and unwilling to leave the government in its present form, they elected Erasmus Louis Surlet de Chokier, an eminent patriot of long tried ability and integrity, to be Regent of the Kingdom. The Regent proceeded to arrange his cabinet, consisting of M. Goblet as Minister of War, M. Charles de Brouckere of Finance, M. Ticlemans of the Interior, M. Van de Weyer

of Foreign Affairs, M. Alexandre Gendebien of Justice, and M. Gerlache as President of the Council of Ministers. These steps being taken, the Belgians had opportunity to deliberate more freely, and decide more satisfactorily, upon the all-important subject of their future King. They were also better able to prepare for meeting the difficult questions continually growing out of the conferences of London, to which it is proper we should now advert.

It is to be remembered that the Kingdom of the Netherlands was the creation of the great allied powers, which effected the overthrow of Napoleon. As a consequence of this it followed, that, when the work of their hands was destroyed by the spontaneous movement of the populace of Brussels, the principal parties to the Congress of Vienna felt no scruple of delicacy in assuming to themselves the right of arbitrating between Holland and Belgium, so as to prevent the general peace of Europe from being sacrificed by the partial interference of any one state either for or against the Belgians. Thus it has happened that the ministers of the five great powers, England, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, assembled at London, have been deliberating on the affairs of Belgium ever since the end of the year 1830, and issuing protocol after protocol for the government of the self-willed Belgians and Hollanders. These protocols contain the decisions of the Allies as to the various questions of boundary and the like, growing out of the separation of the two nations, and offered to these last in a somewhat ambiguous form, partaking both of recommendation and command. The Netherlanders of each nation have accepted or rejected the proposals of the Allies, partly according to the dictates of their own sense of right and wrong, and partly accord-

ing as the circumstances left them free, or not, to exercise their own discretion. Altogether, however, the characteristic perseverance and obstinacy of the Dutch and Belgians in the prosecution of their purposes, rendered the situation of the officious Allies at once embarrassing and ridiculous; for protocol followed upon protocol in never ending succession, as the shifting phasis of affairs in Holland or Belgium required some new advice from the conferees of London.

The Allies, indeed, are not to be considered altogether in the light of volunteers in this matter; for they were invited by William to interpose in his behalf, although, in the result, their friendship has been very unwelcome to his feelings. On the 7th of September he notified Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, of what had transpired, and invited them to send agents to the Hague, to deliberate on the expediency of an administrative separation of Belgium and Holland. On the 5th of October he solicited them to aid him by force of arms in reducing his revolted subjects to obedience; and on their refusing to do this, he proposed to avail himself of their authority to procure for him a satisfactory arrangement of all difficulties by peaceful means.

In consequence, then, whether of their assumed guardianship over European affairs or of the special request of the King of Holland, the five Powers entered upon the thorny subject of Belgium. As preliminary to their future proceedings, they had already agreed to a protocol on the 4th of November 1830, which required a cessation of hostilities between Holland and Belgium. This measure could not but be regarded as a practical recognition of Belgium, because it prohibited any attempts of the Hollanders to restore the lost authority of King William in the southern provin-

ces. The decision of the Conference on the terms of separation between Holland and Belgium was contained in a protocol of January 21st 1831. In fixing on these terms, the Allies go back to the period anterior to the French Revolution, when the Belgic provinces were a dependency of Austria, and assign to Holland and Belgium such portions of the territory of the Kingdom of the Netherlands as belonged to either country at that time, except that, for reasons presently to be explained, they transfer Luxembourg to Holland. They also provide for an apportionment of the national debt between the two fragments of the late Kingdom. This decision was accepted by the Dutch, but rejected by the Belgians, who, at the hazard of a war with Holland and of being left to their fate in the event of a general European war, protested against the dismemberment of their territory by the annexation of Luxembourg to Holland.

On this subject it seemed inevitable that collision should occur. Luxembourg had the same claims to independence with Brabant or Flanders. The Luxembourgers had made common cause with the other inhabitants of the southern provinces, in expelling the Dutch authorities, and in admitting those appointed by the provisional government at Brussels. They had elected deputies to the National Congress, and participated in all its acts, from the declaration of independence done to the selection of a regent. Finally, notwithstanding the decision of the five powers, awarding Luxembourg to Holland, the Regent of the Belgians had announced his determination to sustain the Luxembourgers in their connection with the other Belgic provinces, by force of arms, if necessity should require it; and the movements of Holland indicated that such a necessity was at hand. A brief explanation of the

difficult questions growing out of the situation of Luxembourg is therefore material in this place.

Holland, we have seen, had set up an independent government under the sovereignty of William of Nassau, before the final termination of the struggle between France and the Allies. In the numerous changes of that time, and before the establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, William acquired a cession from the Allies of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg as an equivalent for the principalities of Nassau, Dillemborg, Leigen, and Datz, the hereditary possessions of the House of Nassau in Germany, which were ceded to Prussia. For the same purpose of indemnity to him, Luxembourg was made a member of the Germanic Confederacy, in order that he might retain his connexion with that body, and have a voice in the Diet. And in pursuance of this arrangement, a garrison of Prussian troops was placed in the fortress of Luxembourg, as a fortress of the Confederation. In addition to which, it was to descend to the second son of William, while the Netherlands should descend to the oldest, so that eventually, on the death of William, it would be entirely severed from the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Subsequently, however, to the establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, it was deemed important to make some changes in regard to this matter, so as to prevent the separation of the two countries by their descent in different lines. The States General, with the concurrence of the King, assigned to his second son certain royal domains in the district of Breda as an indemnity for the future inheritance of Luxembourg, which was declared inseparable from the Netherlands. — This being the case, the Belgians insisted that, on a dissolution of the Kingdom of the Nether-

lands, Luxembourg belonged to the Belgic section of the Kingdom, with which it had always been conjoined, from the days of the House of Burgundy, through all the subsequent changes of sovereignty, to which that part of Europe has been subjected. Nay, in the adjustment of the national representation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, this question seemed to be decided by the Dutch themselves. It had been arranged that the number of deputies for the whole Kingdom should be 110, 55 for Holland and 55 for Belgium, so as to secure a perfect equality of power between the two nations; and the deputies of Luxembourg entered into the 55 assigned to Belgium.

The facts, which we have thus summarily stated, were such as to give color of reason to both parties. William insisted that Luxembourg was held by him as an hereditary domain, wholly independent of his title to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Belgians replied, that he acquired Luxembourg just as he acquired Brabant, by the arbitrary act of the Allies; that as for his hereditary estates, he might seek them of Prussia by whom they were held; and that, at any rate, Luxembourg, like the rest of Belgium, was resolved to be independent of the House of Orange, to which it owed no national or hereditary allegiance, — and the rest of Belgium was equally resolved to maintain the independence of Luxembourg.

In the midst of all the irritating discussions, to which this question gave rise, the Belgians had been gradually settling upon Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg for their King. It was ascertained that the heads of the Catholic, as well as the Protestant, party, were favorable to his pretensions, and that a large majority of the members of Congress were disposed to offer him the crown. But it was deemed prudent to ascertain the views of

Leopold before proceeding to a formal election, for which purpose a deputation repaired to London. Finding him disposed to accept the crown, if regularly tendered to him, the Belgian Congress at last proceeded to ballot once more for a king, and elected Leopold by a vote of 152 out of 196 members, who were present at the time. Indeed, of the dissidents, only 14 voted for another person, the rest having abstained from voting at all; so that, on the whole, the vote was a very strong and decided expression of preference for Leopold.

Thus it was that this favorite of fortune at length arrived at a throne. Leopold had been selected by Princess Charlotte to be her husband, on account of his external graces of person. Her sudden death had left him in possession of a splendid appanage and the princely residence of Claremont. The throne of Greece had courted him in vain. His reputation for intelligence, good sense, cultivated mind, and moderation of spirit, now attracted to him the suffrages of the Belgians and placed him among the crowned heads of Europe. He left London for Brussels on the 16th of July, and landed at Calais, where he was met by General Belliard and M. Le Hon. On the 17th he proceeded through Dunquerque to Ostende, being received on the Belgic frontiers, between the two last named places, by Baron d'Hooghvorst, Governor of West Flanders. He was everywhere greeted with the highest demonstrations of loyalty. It is somewhat remarkable that he entered Belgium on the anniversary of the very day on which William was compelled to leave it,—whether by design or accident we do not know.

Scarcely, however, was he warm in his new throne, when he was called upon to repel an invasion of his Kingdom by the Dutch. They en-

tered the Belgic territory in great force, sacking and firing the villages, pillaging the farm houses, and committing manifold outrages on the persons and property of the inhabitants. The Belgian army being wholly unprepared for this sudden inroad, made but a feeble resistance, and was driven in disgrace before the Dutch, who threatened to march to Brussels. In this difficult emergency, King Leopold instantly notified the French and English governments of the breach of the armistice by the Dutch, and called upon them to make good their pledge of sustaining the neutrality of Belgium. However humiliating may have been the necessity of recurring to foreign aid for the protection of the country, it was the only resource, which, in the circumstances, the Belgians possessed. Their appeal was promptly met by England and France, especially the latter. — Immediately on the receipt of the intelligence that King William's troops had invaded Belgium, Louis Philippe had summoned a council, at which it was resolved that Marshal Gérard, with an army of 50,000 men, should march to the succor of the Belgians. The French army was put in motion forthwith, and entered Belgium on the 7th of August in three different directions, while an English fleet under sir Edward Codrington was ordered to assemble in the Downs to act as events might demand. These summary measures of the French and English governments were decisive in the matter; for King William lost no time in withdrawing his troops, professing a readiness to proceed with the negotiations undertaken by the Powers. The French troops were welcomed by the Belgians as brethren and friends, but had no occasion to engage in combat with the Dutch; and, after remaining long enough to be assured of the cessation of hostilities and the restoration of

tranquillity, they quietly evacuated the Belgic territory and returned to France.

This ridiculous sally of the King of Holland was quite as much distinguished for bad faith as for wanton absurdity. On the 4th of August, the very day when the Prince of Orange took the command of the Dutch army to march upon Belgium, William had caused the strongest assurances of his pacific intentions to be communicated to the Conference. The Allies felt that the period for temporizing and persuading was now passed; and they proceeded to *prescribe* the conditions of a definitive treaty by the protocol of October 1831, in number, forty nine, — for to such a degree had the negotiations been protracted.

This convention consisted of twenty four articles, applicable to all the great questions of difference between Belgium and Holland. Instead of assigning to each country the identical line of ancient boundary, it gave to the King of Holland part of Limbourg as an indemnity for a part of Luxembourg conceded to the demands of the Belgians. Each country was made responsible for its own debt as it existed anterior to the Union, and Belgium was charged with one half of the debt contracted since, together with a yearly payment of 600,000 florins in consideration of commercial advantages exacted of Holland. Communication by land and water between the two countries was adjusted on terms of reciprocity and equality, in conformity with the principles of European law on this point established by the Congress of Vienna. Antwerp was to continue solely a port of commerce, as had been determined in 1814, and the Powers guarantied the perpetual neutrality of Belgium. On the 15th of November the plenipotentiaries of the five Powers and of Belgium signed the treaty, and it was ratified

by the governments of Great Britain, France, and Belgium, on the 31st of January 1832. Austria, Prussia, and Russia delayed the ratification of the treaty so long as to create much doubt of the fairness of their intentions, but finally on the 18th of April came the ratification of Austria and Prussia, and on the 10th of May that of Russia.* The Dutch, however, continued to negotiate, evade, and shuffle, until the proceedings of the conference, so long protracted and so ineffective, had come to be a byword in all Europe. The Allies had temporized so long, that men could hardly believe they were in earnest; and it remained to be seen whether their decision of October 1831, which they had pronounced to be fixed and final, was only *brutum fulmen*, or the umpirage of powers who meant what they spoke, and did not threaten without reflection upon consequences.

Before coming to the closing scene in the progress of the Belgic Revolution, it is necessary to advert for a moment to some incidents in the domestic affairs of Belgium. The Belgic Chambers had assembled under the new Constitution in September of 1831, when Leopold pronounced his opening speech as King of the Belgians. It is not necessary to our purpose to enter into the details of internal organization, which, of course, pressed on the time and care of the new government. The Revolution, as such, awaited only the result of the conferences of London to be complete; and no important event requires to be signalized, as bearing on that point, except the alliance of Leopold with the Princess Louise of Orleans, daughter of the King of the French. This marriage was solemnized at the royal château of

* A very full history of these negotiations may be found in the Edinburgh Review, No. cxii.

Compiègne on the 9th of August, 1832, serving to add the ties of domestic connexion to the strong considerations of public interest, which previously united France and Belgium.

Weary at last of the unsettled state, in which the Belgian question kept the affairs of Western Europe, Great Britain and France resolved to bring matters to a crisis. On the 22nd of October 1832 they signed a treaty, agreeing that if the King of Holland did not, on the 2nd of November next ensuing, engage to evacuate the places held by him within the Belgian frontiers as marked out by their treaty of November 1831, they would lay an embargo on all Dutch vessels within their respective ports, arrest and bring in such as they met at sea, and assemble a combined English and French squadron on the coasts of Holland for the enforcement of their decision; and agreeing further, if William did not actually withdraw his troops from the Belgian territory on or before the 15th of the same November, that then a French corps should enter Belgium and forcibly expel the Dutch. This treaty had meaning and point in it; and was precisely the measure, which, and which alone, could overcome the *inertie* of Holland.

The King of Holland having distinctly refused to evacuate the citadel of Antwerp, and the forts and places dependant upon it, which the treaty was designed to affect, — an English order in council made its appearance on the 7th of November, suspending all intercourse with Holland, and commanding the detention and capture of all ships belonging to that nation. The *Moniteur* of that date gave information that a like order had been issued in France. And at the same time the combined English and French fleets were despatched to the Scheldt. And these de-

monstrations producing no effect, the French army of the North, under the command of Marshal Gérard, passed the frontiers on the 15th, directing itself on the citadel of Antwerp. In taking this step Louis Philippe expressly undertook not to occupy any of the fortified places of Belgium, — but that, on the contrary, after attaining their object, the French troops would immediately retire upon the territory of France.

Marshal Gérard was accompanied by the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours, and followed by a numerous army organized and equipped with those irresistible means of sure success, which had characterized the expedition against Algiers. On the 17th Baron Chassé, who still commanded the citadel of Antwerp, issued an order of the day, announcing his resolution to hold out the place to the last extremity. Simultaneously with the entrance of the French into Belgium, Prussia caused a numerous army of observation to assemble on the Maes, engaging to withdraw it when the French should withdraw. And thus at length the Belgian question, which had filled Europe with alarm for two years, openly assumed the threatening aspect of an impending European war.

By the 30th of November the French army was ready to commence attempting the reduction of the citadel. The only delicate point in the matter was to preserve the city of Antwerp from being subject to the fire of the citadel. To attain this object Marshal Gérard opened a negotiation with Baron Chassé, which resulted in an understanding that the garrison would treat the city as neutral in the contest, on condition that the French abstained from availing themselves of the fortifications of the city in their hostile operations. This arrangement added greatly to the difficulties of the French, but was dictated by every consid-

eration of honor and humanity. It is edifying to remark the tranquil civility of language employed in the summons to surrender and the reply. 'I hope,' says Gérard, 'to find you disposed to acknowledge the justice of my request (for the possession of the citadel.) If, contrary to my expectation, it should be otherwise, I am charged to apprise you that I must employ all the means at my disposal to occupy the citadel of Antwerp.' To which Chassé responded in the same courteous tone: 'In reply to your summons, which I have this instant received, I inform you that I shall not surrender the citadel of Antwerp, until after having exhausted all the means of defence at my disposal.' Whereupon the parties proceeded to address each other in the more expressive language uttered at the cannon's mouth.

The trenches were opened during the night of the 29th to the 30th, and the fire commenced from the citadel at noon of the 30th. Amid great embarrassments from heavy rains and the local situation of the works under the fire of the citadel, every thing was completed by the 4th of December, on which day the French batteries opened with a tremendous discharge from eighty two pieces of ordinance. All means of siege and attack, which modern art supplies, were now brought in requisition by the French, and to such effect that, on the 23rd of December, General Chassé signified his desire to stop the further effusion of blood. By the articles of capitulation the garrison, consisting of about 4000 men, became prisoners of war, to be released, however, on condition that the King of Holland should order the surrender of the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek, which, being independent of General Chassé, could not be delivered up by him. When the French took possession of the citadel they found

all the buildings within it a heap of ruins, and the soil every where ploughed up by shot and shells, indicating alike the skill of the besiegers and the resolution of the garrison. The great object of their expedition being accomplished, the French troops were immediately marched back to their country, leaving King William to digest this decisive step of his good allies, and to ponder upon the measures of coercion still employed by them on the water.

Finally, after four months more of obstinate procrastination, the King of Holland executed, in May, a preliminary treaty with France and Great Britain, indicating his acquiescence at last in the decree of destiny. By this convention, the King of Holland consented to the free navigation of the Scheldt, the navigation of the Maes subject to the tolls provided by a recent treaty for regulating the intercourse of the *riverain* States on the Rhine, and an armistice between Belgium and Holland until the conditions of a permanent separation could be amicably adjusted. And thus, at the expiration of nearly three years of sullen but helpless opposition to the umpirage of the five Powers, — an umpirage which she herself had invited, — Holland seems disposed to accept that place in the great republic of European kingdoms, which her more powerful neighbors are willing to accord.

The day is gone by when her voice was potential in the affairs of the world. She no longer possesses the resources to enable her to subsidize great arms on the land, or to balance the power of Britain upon the ocean. She does not possess the requisite resources, and if she did the times are not auspicious for their being called into play; for the full understanding and hearty concurrence of Great Britain and France in the

measures needful to preserve the peace of Western Europe, deprive her of that fruitful field of national jealousies, where she once reaped so much power, influence, and fame. Something she may have hoped, and with just cause, from the sympathy of Russia and Prussia in the misfortunes of their near domestic ally, and their hatred of all governments founded on the exercise by the people of their intrinsic right of sovereignty; but happily for the repose of Belgium, happily for the repose of the world, the brief but high spirited struggle of the Poles came to serve, in its results, as an atoning sacrifice for the liberty and peace of the rest of Europe.

Certain it is that King William, while possessed of large claims to general reputation for integrity, manliness of character, and anxiety to promote the welfare of his subjects, has not made good his reputation in those contingencies, where his conduct has drawn particular attention in the United States. We have strong sympathies and grateful reminiscences to bestow on the old United Provinces: — we have nothing to attach us to the King of Holland. In his refusal to settle our just claim to indemnity for the spoliation on our commerce committed by his predecessors, we discover the reverse of a conscientious regard of right and wrong. His arbitration of the question of boundary litigated between Great Britain and the United States exhibits no trace of directness or decision of temper. And neither the good of his people nor his own reputation has been consulted in the long series of shifts, by which, for more than two years, he has endeavored to stave off the separation of Belgium and Holland, when he knew that it was an event inevitable, and as desirable for Holland as it was for Belgium.

CHAPTER III.

North-eastern Europe.—Partition of Poland.—Political Changes.—Effects of the Partition.—Policy of Napoleon.—The Polish Legions.—The Duchy of Warsaw.—Congress of Vienna.—Poland subjected to Russia.—Alexander's Charter.—Tyranny of the Russians.—Conspiracy of 1825.—Oppressions of Nicholas.—New Conspiracy.—Three Days.—Designs of Nicholas.—The Revolution.

WESTERN Europe retains, in the general outline, the same subdivisions, into which it settled down subsequently to the dismemberment of the Roman Empire. A multitude of changes, undoubtedly, have taken place in Italy, Spain, France, Britain, the Netherlands, in their governments, their dynasties, and their component parts; but still the grand features of nationality remain, as they stood on the revival of letters and improvement in modern times. Not so, with the Germanic and Sclavonian races, the inhabitants of the vast region, which stretches from the Rhine to the boundaries of Asia. Austria, Prussia, and Russia are new governments, which, from being simple dukedoms, owing allegiance to some paramount authority, and this but a few centuries back, have now grown to be among the most formidable powers of Europe. And it is from the spoils of Poland that much of their strength and consequence has been acquired.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Brandenburg was a poor German electoral House, and in barbarian Muscovy no man could see the germ of the now mighty Empire of Russia, — at that time Poland was one of the largest kingdoms of Europe. Ruled for seven hundred years, from the middle of the ninth until towards the close of the sixteenth century, by the heredi-

tary dynasties of the Piasts and the Jagellons, Poland rapidly rose into greatness, notwithstanding its frequent collisions with the Muscovites, Hungarians, and Turks. Its fall was signal, in proportion to its elevation. On the death of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the Jagellons, in 1571, the crown of Poland became purely elective; and the Poles exhibited the example of a great people becoming gradually demoralized and disorganized by reason of the instability of their government, until the dependant weakness of their elective kings, and the fierce independence of their democracy of nobles, rendered them the easy prey of their ancient enemies, who continually interfered in their internal affairs, either by corruption or arms, and at last, when the anarchy of Poland was complete, partitioned out its provinces among themselves, and expunged it from the map of Europe.

The first partition took place in 1772. Warned by this event, the Poles proceeded, in 1783, to reform the vices of their government, by declaring the throne hereditary in the House of Saxony, abolishing the *liberum veto*, making provision for the enfranchisement of serfs, extending the privileges of the cities, and newly organizing the military forces of the Kingdom. Hereupon Russia and Prussia, apprehensive that Poland would become regenerated, and thus defeat their schemes of aggrandisement, hastened to make a second partition of her provinces, which they effected, but not without encountering the desperate opposition of the Poles headed by the brave Kosciuszko. Finally, in 1795, all the residue of Poland was absorbed by its rapacious invaders, and the Kingdom ceased to exist.*

* The history of the partition, and its causes, may be read in Lord Dover's 'Frederic,' v. 2; Mrs. Jameson's 'Lives of

The present generation has grown familiar with the dismemberment of kingdoms, and the forcible disposition of states and provinces according to the caprice of selfish alliances or irresponsible conquerors. We have seen Italy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, conquered or annexed to France; Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Prussia, and half the principalities and kingdoms of Germany, subjugated by Napoleon; Finland torn from Sweden, and Norway joined to it, by the fiat of others; and all continental Europe prostrate at the feet of a mere soldier of fortune. Again we have seen the tide of conquest driven back; France stripped of her acquisitions, and these arbitrarily distributed here and there just as sundry great allies considered meet; Belgium and Holland tied together in Mezentian bonds; Prussia once more superior on the Rhine and the Elbe; Lombardy engorged again by the successor of Frederic Barbarossa; France and Naples restored by a dash of the pen to the dynasties they hated and despised; and unhappy Poland yielded up anew to the tender mercies of the Czar. Later still, the invasion of Savoy and Naples by the Austrians, of Spain by the French, and of Portugal by the English, in order to give ascendancy to particular parties, and to sustain some internal modification of government agreeable to the will of their officious ally, have borne further testimony to the nature and qualities of European independence. The Sultan, again, has been obliged

Female Sovereigns, v. 2; Fletcher's *History of Poland*; and the *Encyclopædia Americana*, among works of a popular form accessible to all readers;— and more fully in the *Histoire des Révolutions de Pologne depuis la Mort d'Auguste III.*, printed at Warsaw in 1775, tom. ii, ch. 6; in Oginski's *Mémoires sur la Pologne et les Polonais*; in Maleszewski's *Essai Historique et Politique sur la Pologne*; and in Rulhière's *Anarchie de la Pologne*.

to submit to the dismemberment of his Empire to gratify the wishes of his friends, and the severed member has been compelled to accept of such a government and such rulers, as the same kind friends chose to impose. Even at the present time, Europe is witnessing the spectacle of what was once among her most important states, namely Holland, compelled to forego her rights as a nation, at the dictation of the powerful neighbors around her. Many other examples to the same effect might be cited, interpositions of some partial alliance or potent monarch to change the destinies of entire nations and peoples, occasionally, it is true, in the interest of liberty and improvement, but more frequently to advance the interest of despotism. Such continual *bouleversemens* among the states of Europe, effected by foreigners without consultation of the parties acted upon, have served to blunt the delicacy, and deaden the sensitiveness, of the public feeling, in regard to revolutions affecting the nationality of a people.

But it was not so in former times. To maintain the balance of power in Europe, as it was phrased, Flanders was filled, in the days of Marlborough and Turenne, with contending armies for many successive years, when the whole territory in dispute was but a tithe of what has since been given to this prince, or taken from that, as carelessly and unrespectively as the ancient Persian kings were used to distribute cities among favorites about the throne, or as Rome made or unmade kings in the Asiatic provinces of her Empire. What treasure was lavished, how much blood was shed, to prevent a testamentary devise in favor of the grandson of Louis XIV from taking effect! The permanency, the unchangeableness of states was the dominant idea among statesmen; all the arts of diplomacy were aimed

to accomplish this object, by such combinations of one set of governments as should prevent others from acquiring too large a share of the soil of Europe. Even the gradual increase of Prussia, although seemingly in violation of this principle, was in fact a consequence of it, the growth of the House of Brandenburg being countenanced to secure the equipoise of the Germanic Confederation.

It was in such a state of public opinion that Europe saw the three north-eastern monarchies, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, combine for the partition of Poland, thus breaking down the doctrine of the *status in quo*, that common law of Europe, by which alone the weaker powers subsisted, and setting an example of unprincipled rapacity, of which they themselves were destined to be the future victims. The western powers of Europe seemed to be astounded and stupified, rather than shocked and aroused as they ought to have been, by this highhanded and flagitious violation of the national sovereignty of the Poles; and the indignation of England and France evaporated in idle and fruitless popular sympathy with the sufferers. The monstrous injustice of the act in question shocked, it is true, the whole of Europe, to a degree proportioned to the sacredness which was then attached to the idea of nationality. Poetry exhausted all her invention, and philosophy poured forth her stores of eloquence, in malediction of the leagued oppressors. But the Poles were left to fight the battles of their independence single-handed; and this gallant and free spirited nation, which within less than a century had numbered a population of twenty million souls, was swallowed up and destroyed, after a desperate struggle, by the bearded barbarians of Muscovy and the hereditary slaves of Prussia and Austria.

When the shameless coalition, which partitioned Poland, was suffered to go unpunished, the moral sense of Europe, in regard to the integrity of national sovereignty, was extinguished. We saw the effects of this in the facility with which revolutionary France overran the Netherlands, the Rhine, and Italy. In the recent rapacity of legitimate emperors, Napoleon could not fail to find apology at least for his own disregard of the rights of nationality. How could Prussia appeal to the sympathies of Europe in her behalf, with the fresh blood of the injured Poles yet reeking on her hands? How could Austria complain of provinces ravished from her sceptre on the south, when her northern frontier was pieced out with the illgotten fragments of plundered Poland? How could Russia object to the extension of empire by unprovoked invasion, when she herself had set up a school in Poland for the teaching of lessons of invasion, outrage, tyranny, and profitable crime? Sure we are that, until they themselves were just, those three governments had no right to call on others to be generous. If that mighty genius, whom the interested calumnies of a voluntary enemy so long prevented from being duly appreciated, — if Napoleon, after humbling Austria, subduing Prussia, and intimidating Russia, had made the reintegration of Poland the hinge of his northern policy, how nobly would he have avenged the wrongs of the Poles, how triumphantly would he have sustained himself, how totally different from its present aspect would now be the condition of Europe!

Napoleon possessed ample opportunity to revive the Polish nation, and to render it the bulwark of western Europe against the Russians, as it had formerly been against the Turks. After

the final defeat of Kosciuszko* in the battle of Maciejowice, the scattered relics of the armed Poles were united together by Dombrowski, one of the most eminent among the Polish patriots, who offered their services to France, not as mere mercenary auxiliaries, but as an expatriated nation, who wished to maintain their nationality under the banners of the only country, of whom they could expect the recompense they looked for,

* It is by no means to be expected that the pronunciation of foreign proper names should be familiarly known to all those, who have occasion to read works wherein such names appear; nor is it generally needful; but as Polish words continually present a combination of consonants, which are absolutely *unpronounceable* without some knowledge of the peculiar powers attributed to certain letters in the Polish language, I subjoin a few brief explanations on this point, sufficient for the purposes of the general reader.

As to single letters,

1. The vowels are pronounced as in Italian or Spanish, and each vowel is separately articulated.

2. *W* may be represented by our *v*. Thus *Wlodawa* is pronounced *Vlodava*.

3. *C* has the sound *tz*. Thus *Pac* is pronounced *Patz*.

4. *G* is always hard. *Oginski* is pronounced *Oghinski*.

5. *Z* varies in sound in different words, being sometimes pronounced more or less like our *z*, and sometimes like *j*; and accents are used in the Polish alphabet to denote the respective sounds.

But the greatest difficulty occurs in combinations of consonants, of which these varieties are to be noted.

1. *Ch* supplies the place of the Spanish or German guttural sound.

2. *Cz* has the sound of *tch*, as in *Czartoryski*, pronounced *Tchartoryski*.

3. *Sz* and *Scz* have the sound of *sh*. Thus *Szembek* is pronounced *Shembek*, and *Sczachowski*, *Sha'hovski*.

4. *Szcz* has the sound of *stsch*, as in *Gliszczynski*, pronounced *Glishtchynski*.

6. *Sc* has the sound of *sch*. Thus *Zamosc* is pronounced *Zamosch*, — and *Kosciuszko*, *Kos-chiushko*.

7. When *z* follows *r*, they are to be pronounced as if an *e* intervened; as in *Skrzynecki*, pronounced *Skrejnyetski*, — *Wieprz*, pronounced *Vieprezj*.

namely, the restoration of Poland. They were joyfully received into the armies of the French Republic, and, with a second corps afterwards organized under Kniaziewicz, proved the bravest among the brave in the ranks of those victorious legions, which planted the tri-colored flag on every cathedral in Europe, and covered the French name with glory. In Italy, Egypt, Spain, Germany, Prussia, wherever Napoleon advanced his eagles, the Poles were always to be found, anxious only to perpetuate the individuality of their nation, and glad to die so that on some future day Poland might live. A junta or committee of Poles continued to sit, either in Italy or France, which scrupulously observed the rules of the Diet, in order that the existence of the nation might not be suspended, nor the sacred flame of Polish independence be quenched for a moment. On every field of victory, whenever the thanks of the French nation were presented to the gallant Polish legion, Dombrowski never failed to remind France of the reward to which they aspired. — They fought for France with all the courage and enthusiasm, which characterize them; but it was in their country's behalf that they poured out their blood so freely. At Marengo and Wagram, at Jena and Austerlitz, it was still for Poland they conquered.

Although Napoleon never did justice to the merits and virtues of the Poles, — merits and virtues of which no man was more conscious, and of which he availed himself on the most trying occasions, — yet he could not always resist the prayers of this heroic people. During his triumphant career in Prussia, it was in his power to have redeemed Poland. But unfortunately for himself, as well as for them, success had hardened him to the calls of generosity, and in the selfish calcula-

tions of his own personal policy he but half met the ardent expectations of the Poles. Instead of reestablishing the Kingdom of Poland, he merely formed the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, composed of provinces reclaimed from Prussia in 1807 and of others taken from Austria in 1809, and comprehending a population of 4,334,656 souls. Although the Poles were disappointed, and with just cause, at the want of generosity as well as good policy, displayed in these arrangements, yet they were thankful for the boon they received, and felt that their sufferings and sacrifices had not been in vain. They were once more a people, with a home and a name, and they were grateful for the blessing.*

Of course, the Poles did not fail to stand by Napoleon in his desperate conflict with Russia, and they were the joint victims of his defeat, as they would have been the participators in his success. When the Russians occupied the Duchy of Warsaw in 1813, they hastened to conclude with Prussia and Austria one more treaty of partition, by which the Czar was to have yet another share of Poland. But the farther events of the campaign prevented the execution of this treaty; and the fate of the Poles came up for consideration in the Congress of Vienna. The victorious Allies were assembled to dispose of the multitude of states, which they had torn from the authority or influence of Napoleon. More than thirty millions of human beings, inhabitants of Poland, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy, were to receive their doom from the hands of individuals, whose alliance and victories raised them above all considerations of responsibility, and made them totally independent of the feelings of

* See Chodzko's 'Tableau de la Pologne,' and Fayot's 'Histoire de Pologne.'

so many unappropriated nations. Forgetting that they were in arms for the purpose of punishing usurpation and unjustified conquest, they proceeded to exercise like tyranny, in a manner still more flagrantly revolting to public justice. Their arbitrary appropriation of the Poles did not stand alone; but there are peculiar circumstances attending it, which aggravate the atrocity manifested by Russia from beginning to end towards this unfortunate people.

It was from the spoils of Prussia and Austria, as we have stated, that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw had been constructed. Had Alexander been true to his own principles, he would certainly have laid no claim to the territory, which had never belonged to his Empire, and which, if it was not to be rendered independent, should have been restored to its former possessors. Lord Castlereagh, in behalf of England, strenuously insisted that the Kingdom of Poland should be revived. He rightly represented it as the earnest desire of his country to see 'some independent power established in Poland, as a separation between the three great empires of Europe.' Talleyrand expressed the same wish in behalf of France, which he represented. He said that 'Of all questions to be discussed at this Congress, he considered the affairs of Poland as incomparably the most important to the interests of Europe, if there was any chance that this nation, so worthy of regard for its antiquity, its valor, its misfortunes, and the services which it has formerly rendered to Europe, might be restored to complete independence. The partition, which destroyed its existence, was the prelude, in some measure the cause, perhaps even to a certain extent the apology, for the subsequent commotions to which Europe has been exposed.' Metternich cordially entered into the

views of the English and French plenipotentiaries, and was willing even to surrender a portion of the Austrian territory, if requisite for the re-establishment of Poland as an independent kingdom. These honorable and useful purposes of England, France and Austria, were defeated by the selfish rapacity of the Emperor of Russia.

Alexander had taken advantage of the single darling passion of the Poles, the desire of a separate national existence, to draw them by fair promises into the expression of good-will towards him, and thus rendered them accomplices in their own ruin. Meanwhile his troops now occupied the Grand Duchy, as they had continued to do ever since the expulsion of the French. Under these circumstances he insisted that Poland should be incorporated with the Russian Empire; and as the other powers could only prevent this by running the hazards of a new war, they reluctantly yielded to the iniquitous demands of Alexander. But they did not acquiesce, without a solemn protest in favor of the independence and civil rights of the Poles. Lord Castlereagh, especially, assumed a stand in regard to Great Britain, which amounted to an honorary engagement of his country to see that the Poles were fairly treated by Russia. He exacted of the sovereigns, by whom the various fragments of the Polish monarchy were now held, a pledge 'that the Poles in their respective dominions, under whatever form of government they might think proper to place them, should still be treated as Poles.' They each solemnly pledged themselves to this effect, as well to each other as to England, and embodied their engagements in the final act of the Congress.

Thus, of all the spoils of ancient Poland, Russia had truly acquired the lion's share. In order

to appreciate the progress of its usurpations, and to understand the pretensions and hopes of the Poles in the recent Revolution, it is material to trace the disposition of the scattered members of this once powerful state. Poland, it is to be understood, formerly extended along the Baltic from Dantzic to Riga, and from the Baltic south to the Carpathian mountains and the Dniester, which separated it from Hungary and Moldavia; and its frontier on the side of Muscovy was beyond the Dwina and the Dnieper. Of the subdivisions of Poland, Austria retained, in 1815, the single province of Gallicia, and Prussia about the same extent of territory in Posen and the so called Polish Prussia; — but Russia had swallowed up the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Courland, Podolia, the Ukraine, Wolhynia, and Lithuania, including Samogitia and White and Black Russia. So vast is the territory which the Czar had acquired from the Poles, that all France would not suffice to cover its superficial extent, and the very name of his Empire belongs to provinces of Poland. Well might the Russian statesman Novossilsoff aver, that to give complete independence to the Poles would be to drive back the Muscovite Empire into Asia.*

By the first article of the treaty of Vienna, then, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was transferred, under the title of the Kingdom of Poland, to the Empire of Russia forever; it being stipulated at the same time that ‘the Poles, the respective subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shall obtain a national representation and national institutions, framed according to the mode of political existence, which each of the governments, to which they belong, shall judge useful and proper to grant

* Journal of a Nobleman at the Congress of Vienna, ch. 8.

them.' Prussia and Austria have wholly disregarded this engagement; but Russia flattered the Poles with a constitution upon paper, only to await her own time to govern them as she pleased, without regard to the privileges of their Charter. During the progress of these negotiations, Alexander was incessantly endeavoring to conciliate the Poles by professions of the greatest regard for their welfare as a nation, and by acts of courtesy and kindness towards prominent individuals. His Charter was promulgated in 1815, and contained provisions, which, if observed by him and by Nicholas, would have secured the fidelity and attachment of the Poles. It assured to them a governor, to be called Lieutenant of the Kingdom, who should be selected from among their own people. It promised them exemption from arbitrary arrest, guaranteed the liberty of the press, and limited to the Poles all employments, civil and military, within their own country. To gratify the national feeling of the Poles, it was provided that the Polish army should preserve 'its colors, its uniform, and every thing belonging to its nationality.' To complete the system of government, the Poles were gratified with a Diet, whose deliberations were to be public, and which was to assemble every two years. It consisted of two chambers, namely, the senate, composed of nine bishops and of palatins and castellans nominated for life by the Emperor out of a double list presented to him by the senate itself, — and a lower chamber, composed of seventy seven nuncios or representatives of the assemblies of nobility and fifty one deputies of commons. — Such was the constitution of the new Kingdom, as provided by the Charter.

But with these ample nominal guaranties of their independence, which promised them all that

in the circumstances they could expect, if not all they desired, — the Poles ere long discovered that they possessed no real independence. They were still subject to a despot, who respected their rights just so far as suited his convenience and no further. In fact, the violations of the charter were as strikingly arbitrary, as the provisions of it on paper were strikingly just and equitable. The Grand Duke Constantine being stationed in Warsaw as Commander in Chief of the army, there was an end of the liberty of the people, and of the independence of the Polish Lieutenant General. The press was subjected to a rigid police. Arbitrary arrests, imprisonment without trial, and cruel punishments, became familiar incidents among the oppressed inhabitants of Poland. The sittings of the Diet were interrupted for a period of five years. Its doors were closed by order of Alexander himself. At the very first meeting of the Diet, a decision was promulgated that its members must submit in all things to the will of the Grand Duke, and to make sure of their obedience the Palace of the Diet and its galleries were filled with armed guards. The city was thronged with spies, and no means of extortion and oppression were spared, to break down the spirits, and extinguish the independent feeling, of the Poles. Finally, the army was subjected to every possible indignity, so that the most patriotic Polish officers resigned their commissions, and the soldiers repeatedly committed suicide to escape from the military tyranny of Constantine.

This accumulation of injuries was not the business of a single year, of course, nor was it all the work of Alexander. It is to be remembered that, from the beginning, Constantine, whose character was uniformly represented, long before the Polish insurrection, as being an extraordinary

specimen of fatuous weakness and brutal ferocity, was the virtual administrator of the Russian authority in Poland. The Emperor Alexander appears to have entertained somewhat friendly sentiments towards the Poles, although his friendliness was not of a sufficiently active description to preserve them from the oppression of his subalterns, nor sufficiently disinterested to induce him to comply with his own engagements, or fulfil the expectations of Europe, in regard to the promised independence of Poland. Hence the Poles were, even during his reign, left to be vexed and misgoverned by the petty despotism of Constantine, and precluded the exercise of the constitutional rights assured to them by their Charter. We state this position in general terms, because the specification of particular facts would draw us beyond the proposed limits of our narrative. Still, the position itself is undeniably true, and abundant evidence of this has been published in various forms since the commencement of the insurrection. No impartial reader, who chooses to consult the proper authorities for information, can fail to obtain entire conviction upon the subject. The Polish Diet had been revived in name, but not in substance; the body of a deliberative assembly existed, but not the soul; it was but a mockery of independence to the brave inheritors of the name, sentiments, and glorious recollections of Poland. The Charter was in truth a stately and solemn trick elaborately devised for the mystification of Europe, who had protested as with one voice against the annexation of Poland to Russia, and whom it was deemed wise to quiet by seeming concession. So much for the national independence; and as for the liberty of the subject, it is equally certain that the Poles were no otherwise distinguished from other subjects of the Mus-

covite sceptre, than as their attachment to free institutions rendered them a constant object of *surveillance*, pillage and oppression to their jealous master, from which the well tutored slaves of his hereditary possessions were of course exempted. Such was the state of things in the time of Alexander.

The consequence of this was, that, for some years previous to his death, plans were in agitation among the Poles for emancipating their country. Jablonowski, Krzyzanowski, Plichta, Debek, and Stanislas Soltyk are named among the patriots, who, in 1821, first conceived the idea of a Polish revolution. While brooding over their wrongs, and thus beginning to contemplate revolt, they were gratified with intelligence of the secret organization of a conspiracy among the Russians themselves for throwing off their yoke, at the head of which were Pestel, Releiew, Murawiew, and their associates. The two separate sections of this great conspiracy met at Kiow in 1824, and soon afterwards at Orla, where they were combined by solemn oaths for the prosecution of their kindred purposes. The Russians promised to the Poles the resuscitation of Poland by the surrender of its ancient provinces; and each nation pledged itself to the other to maintain eternal friendship. They fixed upon the twenty fifth anniversary of the accession of Alexander, in May 1826, for the breaking out of the revolution. At that time the whole imperial family were to assemble at Biala-Cerkiew in Volhynia to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation; and the occasion was embraced, as affording the means of securing all the members of the imperial family at once, and also of gaining over the troops, which were then to be collected in the great plain of the Dnieper. In the interim, the conspirators dedicated them-

selves to the task of obtaining friends to their cause in Russia and Poland. All the arrangements for the contemplated rising were in fact made with judgment and circumspection.

But an unexpected event defeated their plans, and compelled them to select another occasion, and devise other means, of attaining their end. This was the sudden death of Alexander at Taganrog in December 1825, which, while it compelled the associates to alter their plans, afforded them grounds of hope, upon which they had previously had no cause to calculate. The Grand Duke Constantine had been obliged, in 1823, on account of his marriage with a Polish lady, to renounce the throne of Russia in favor of his younger brother Nicholas; and the conspirators might well anticipate that the confusion of a disputed succession would greatly facilitate their designs. But, by the vigor of the government and the submissiveness of Constantine, the projected revolution was suppressed, and punishment inflicted on the conspirators. Their failure was the immediate pretext of inflicting innumerable injuries upon the Poles. In Warsaw, the Grand Duke undertook to manifest his horror of the conspiracy, and the fidelity of his allegiance to Nicholas, by superintending the arrangements for the trial of the criminals, and causing them to be subjected to the cruel punishments practised in the Russian Empire. Nicholas was crowned in Warsaw in 1828, and, like his predecessor, swore to maintain the constitutional rights of the Poles. But his oaths were deceitful and hollow, and it became apparent that all Poland was to be punished for what a few had attempted, and, if possible, the spirit of independence thus utterly crushed.

It would be impracticable, as we have said, to enter into minute details, to illustrate the policy,

which Nicholas either commanded or permitted. We give a single example only, from which to judge of the whole, as we find it related in Hordynski's History of the Revolution. It seems that a Jew, called Nowachowiez, had obtained a monopoly for the sale of liquors and tobacco. A poor day-laborer, who had been apprehended for a breach of this monopoly, escaped and sought shelter on the estate of a gentleman of the name of Biernacki; and, in consequence of the interposition of the latter to prevent the poor man from being grossly abused by the pursuing guards, the myrmidons of the police were let loose upon him and his property. In the first place, a detachment of gendarmes was sent to arrest Biernacki, and to convey him like a common criminal through the streets of Warsaw to prison. Next, Nowachowiez succeeded in obtaining from the Grand Duke a squadron of 200 Russian hulans, who were quartered on the estate of Biernacki for a week, *in execution*, as it is termed. 'The Russian soldiers took possession of all the buildings on the estate. In the apartments which they used for barracks, they broke all the furniture, lustres, pianos, and so forth, and carried in their straw for sleeping. In the courtyard they made a fire, for which they used the pieces of furniture as fuel. They took the wheat from the barns to feed their horses, and butchered the cattle. In short, the most shameful depredations and excesses were committed by officers and soldiers, regardless of the lady of this nobleman, who was confined in child-bed, and from terror miscarried, and who for a whole year was in danger of her life from the consequences. This barbarous order of the Grand Duke ruined the fortune of this unhappy man, and the amount of property destroyed may be estimated at least at from 70,000 to 80,000 guilders.

Biernacki was imprisoned for a whole year, after which he was dismissed to weep over the sufferings of his wife and his ruined fortune. The poor offender was punished with *eight hundred* blows of the knout, of which he died in a few days.' — Such was the system of administration, which Constantine applied to the Poles.

In France, or England, or any country where public measures are a subject of discussion in public debate and the newspapers, a course of monstrous mal-administration would have drawn after it the natural consequence of being denounced by the press and at the tribune, and the people would be gradually wrought up to the proper pitch of resolution for redressing their grievances by constitutional or other means. In absolute governments, where freedom of the press does not exist, and freedom of speech is suppressed by means of an organized *espionage*, the same result is reached by the medium of secret conspiracies. Thus it was in Poland in the time of Alexander: thus it was there again in the time of Nicholas. Two young Poles, Wysocki and Schlegel, stimulated by the example of Soltyk and his associates in 1825, exerted themselves to form a patriotic club, which kept alive the hope of independence under every discouragement, waiting only a favorable moment to rend asunder the chains, which fettered their nation. Five years elapsed before any thing occurred to fan the spark into a flame. That potent influence, which aroused the feelings of the nation, and quickened into madness their sense of injustice and oppression, was supplied by the Revolution of the Three Days in France.

It is inconceivable what extraordinary effect that Revolution exercised over the sympathies of other nations. We say sympathies; for it was only through them that the heroism of the Paris-

ian populace operated upon the inhabitants of Warsaw. The Poles and the French had no community of effort, nor any community of cause, except as each aspired after freedom. — Warsaw was not stirred up to rebellion by propagandists of liberalism from the revolutionary schools of Paris. Nor was it through French influence, persuasion, inducement, or advice, that Poland took arms against her Tartar tyrant. It was the moral effect of the Barricades of Paris, acting upon the sympathetic attachment of the Poles to liberty, which produced commotion in Warsaw. This moral effect was discernible from the very first moment, when intelligence of the events of the Three Days was received in the north. A great battle had been fought in Paris for freedom, and tyranny had shrunk into congenial obscurity before the majesty of the awakened people. The news came upon the Poles like a flash of lightning. It roused their energies, it kindled their patriotism, it excited them to strike a blow themselves in the good cause, when they knew their ancient brothers in arms to be fighting once more under the tri-colored flag. But while the Revolution of the Three Days filled the patriotic Poles with enthusiastic joy, it was in the same degree a sound of terror to the Russian oppressors of Poland. Constantine and his agents redoubled their vigilance and their tyranny, in order to keep down the rising energies, which they saw at work in the breasts of the agitated Poles. Arrests became more and more numerous every day; and on a single day forty students were seized in their dwellings and consigned to the prisons.

When the revolutionary spirit was communicated from France to Belgium, the agitations among the Poles acquired new intensity, but the

explosion was precipitated in Warsaw less by the effects of the Belgian Revolution upon the Poles, than by its effects upon the policy of Nicholas. The Russian despot brought insurrection upon himself by his purpose of interfering to suppress it in remote countries, nowise dependant upon his Empire. It is now an authenticated fact,* — and we hope and trust that France, the Netherlands, and reformed Britain will remember it as they value their future independence, — it is an authenticated fact that Nicholas had entered into preparations, in concert with Prussia and Austria, to make war on France and Belgium in behalf of the dethroned dynasties. Modlin and Warsaw were stored with the requisite military supplies from Russia. The Polish army was destined to form the vanguard of the expeditionary forces, in which event Poland would have been occupied immediately by Russian troops, so that, Poland and her army being separated, neither could act on the other, and each must have become a hostage for the other's fidelity. The plan was an ingenious one, it must be avowed, which should have made the Poles the instrument for subjecting themselves, the Belgians, and the French, all by a single effort. The patriotic Poles saw plainly that there was but one way to prevent this, and that no time must be lost in taking their measures, if they would anticipate the departure of the army, as the regiments were all completed, and the orders for marching expected every moment.

The time for deliberation was now passed, that for action had arrived. Most of the students in the civil and military schools were already gained over to the cause of revolution, together with the

* See the disclosures made by La Fayette in the French Chamber of Deputies, Sarrans, tom. ii, p. 6.

young Polish officers in garrison at Warsaw. — The great body of the citizens, and the principal nobles and men of distinction, were counted upon as friendly to the main object of the conspirators; some of the great nobles were conversant even with the plans in agitation, as appears from the statements of Roman Soltyk, one of their class; but Czartoryski, Ostrowski, and others who afterwards entered heartily into the cause of the patriots, took no part in the proceedings prior to the breaking out of the insurrection. To have done so, indeed, would have compromised the safety of the best among the Poles, without accomplishing any useful end. Still it is evident that all Warsaw must have anticipated the approaching movement, some time before it actually took place; for it was impossible to mistake the signs of the times. The immediate inducement was the arrest of eighty young students under the following circumstances. The patriotic Poles were accustomed to assemble every year for secret prayer and other religious rites, in commemoration of the melancholy event of the storming of Praga by Suwaroff in 1794, when that sanguinary and merciless agent of tyranny put to death 30,000 of the inhabitants, sparing neither age, sex, nor condition. The Grand Duke had prohibited all public commemoration of this day of sorrow; but he could not prevent the Poles from mourning in secret over the desolation and abasement of their country. These eighty students were detected in their forbidden devotions, and arrested at the altar, being bound by the Russian soldiers as they knelt; for they disdained to change their position, when the soldiers entered the place of prayer. This outrage filled the measure of endurance among the patriots; for the news of it spread through Warsaw with the quickness of thought, and prompted the con-

spirators to fix on the day of vengeance without further delay. They resolved to strike the decisive blow on the 29th of November (1830,) because one of the Polish regiments, which comprised many of their number, was then to mount guard in Warsaw.

Most of the active conspirators, it will be remembered, were young men and students. They assembled on the morning of the 29th to make their final arrangements, and adopted the hour of seven in the afternoon as the hour for commencing the Revolution. It was agreed that a wooden house, situated conspicuously near the Vistula, should be set on fire as a signal, a party of about one hundred and twenty cadets being posted in the southern part of the city ready to strike the first blow, and others being dispersed in different parts of the city, so as to cooperate with their associates. When the signal flame was seen reflected against the sky, parties of students and officers rode through the streets of the Old Town as it is called, shouting 'Poles! Brethren! The hour of vengeance has struck! Down with the tyrants! To arms! To arms! Our country forever!' At this animating cry, the citizens rushed together from all quarters, shouting 'Poland for ever!' — And this glorious sound was the opening prologue of the Revolution.

Although the cadets, one hundred and twenty in number, would seem to be a handful only for such a purpose, yet headed by Wysocki and Schlegel, with the impetuosity and ardor of youth, they resolved to make the barracks of the Russian guards their first point of attack, and the arrest of the Grand Duke their grand aim. Hastily proceeding to the barracks, they found the troops in all the confusion of a sudden alarm, and after increasing it by firing a few rounds, they rushed to

the charge with their national *hurrah*, and routed a body of cuirassiers, hulans, and hussars, of more than ten times their number. A detachment then traversed the gardens towards the Palace called the Belvidere, where the Grand Duke resided, in order to secure his person, it being rightly conceived that, if in their possession, he could be beneficially employed as a hostage or mediator in making terms with the Emperor. But, unfortunately, the Grand Duke had been apprised of his danger by a domestic, in season to effect his escape; and the cadets were obliged to return into the city without him, fighting their way along through squadrons of Russian guards, among whom the excited Poles produced great havoc by their impetuous courage. Without losing a single man, the cadets arrived at a part of the city called the Nowy-Swiat, where they found two companies of Polish light infantry, and with them two Polish generals, Stanislas Potocki and Trembizki, giving orders for arresting the assembled inhabitants. At the salutation of the cadets, the soldiers ranged with the insurgents, deserting their generals, who, after withstanding the most earnest intreaties to act with their countrymen, were torn in pieces by the enraged populace. — The cadets marched through the streets, singing patriotic songs, and shouting ‘Poland forever,’ — a cry, which was every where responded so enthusiastically by the citizens, — and so gradually freed the south party of the city of the Russian troops, killing or taking prisoners a considerable number of general and inferior officers. Their ultimate purpose was to gain possession of the bridge across the Vistula, which unites Warsaw and Praga.

During these movements, others of the conspirators had been equally busy and triumphant

in the other quarters of the city. They stormed the prisons, releasing numerous victims of Russian tyranny, who had been incarcerated on political accusations; attacked and defeated the Russian infantry stationed in several barracks, falling upon them with the terrible *hurrah*, and driving the panic struck officers and soldiers before them in extreme disorder. Thus, by the united efforts of cadets, students, and a few Polish soldiers, Praga and Warsaw were speedily delivered from the immediate presence of Russian troops, not a few officers of rank and a large numbers of privates falling victims to the first onset of the patriot Poles. The people obtained an ample supply of arms in the course of the night by a successful attack on the arsenal, where they found 80,000 muskets, pistols, and other weapons; and by daylight order was restored by means of patrols stationed at suitable points all over the city.

Before morning the patriots assembled in the Ulica Długa or Long street, to review the progress they had made, and to consult on the movements of the coming day. The scene is represented as having been one of the most impressive description. There is a kind of exalted enthusiasm, a romantic and lofty spirit, displayed in the devotion of the Poles to their country, which has few parallels in the history of our race. They had rushed into rebellion against the colossal power of Russia, carried forward by the zeal of a few young men, and they saw themselves in arms against the oppressors of Poland before they had waited to count the cost, regarding nothing but the sympathies of country and the love of independence. After listening to the animated addresses of their leaders, the assembled multitude filled the air with cries of 'Poland forever,' swore to fight for her freedom whilst a single drop of

blood warmed their hearts, and then knelt down, in the vivid light of fires kindled in the streets, to render thanks to the Almighty for the success they had thus far achieved, and to beseech his continued blessing on their cause. It must have been a spectacle to rouse a fervid patriotism in the breasts of the most phlegmatic, and to change cowardice itself into heroism. To the Russians it was the rehearsal of the great drama of public justice on oppression, which they had anticipated day by day for months past:—to the Poles, it was the realization of their long hoarded hopes of independence.*

* It is proper, once for all, to state, that while the author has availed himself of such other means of information concerning the Polish Revolution as he had access to, he has relied, for the main facts embodied in his narrative, upon two important works, namely,

1. Hordynski's 'History of the Polish Revolution and the Events of the Campaign,' (Boston 1832, pp 406.) This work is particularly full and clear in its account of military movements. It is worthy of note that a copious original history of the war should so soon have made its appearance in the United States. The mode, in which the work was prepared for the press, is also remarkable, it having been written in Polish by Major Hordynski, and then dictated in French to Mr. George H. Snelling, to whom the credit of the English version is due.

2. Count Roman Soltyk's work entitled, 'La Pologne, Précis Historique, Politique, et Militaire de sa Révolution,' (Paris 2 tom. 8vo 1833.) Count Soltyk's work, in addition to its copious details on the events of the war, is also highly valuable for its political explanations, and its account of the closing scenes of the Revolution, the author having been an active member of the Diet as well as a brave officer.

CHAPTER IV.

Polish Chiefs.--Lelewel.--Niemcewicz.--Czartoryski.--Radziwill.--Chlopicki.--The Grand Duke.--Governments.--State of Parties.--The Diet.--Dictatorship.--Negociation.--Russian Proclamations.--Polish Manifesto.--Retirement of Chlopicki.--Radziwill Commander-in-Chief.--Deposition of Nicholas.--Declaration of Independence.--Provisional Government.--Patriotic Society.--The Constitution.--Diplomacy.--Preparations for War.

At the breaking out of the Revolution there was a Council of administration for Poland, consisting of Prince Lubecki, and six others, in whom the executive authority of the Kingdom was vested. Although devoted to the Emperor by position or by principle, the Council sought, by temporising with the insurgents, to gain the control of affairs. To this end they immediately associated with themselves some of the most prominent friends of the national interests, namely, the Princes Adam Czartoryski and Michael Radziwill, the Senator Kochanowski, Generals Pac and Chlopicki, and Julian Niemcewicz; and shortly afterwards, by arrangement of Lubecki, his old companions in the Council were removed from it, and the Castellan Leo Dembowski, the Counts Ladislas Ostrowski and Gustavus Malachowski, and Joachim Lelewel were substituted in their place.

Of these distinguished men, Lelewel was an eminent scholar and patriot, who, although unfitted by his habits of life for military command, became, by his talents and zeal, the animating spirit of the Revolution. Niemcewicz, also, was selected, not merely as possessing the warmest patriotism, and the merit of service under Kosciuszko,

but as being the first name in Polish literature; for the Poles on this occasion, like the French after the Three Days, were proud to do homage to intellectual cultivation and acknowledged intellectual fame, in the distribution of the duties and honors of the revolutionary government.

Czartoryski was the first nobleman of Poland, alike preeminent for his wealth, his rank, and his character. In regard to wealth, he was one of those great Polish proprietors, princes in fact as well as in name, whose estates covered provinces, and who could equip whole squadrons from their own private resources. In rank, he claimed descent from royalty, through a long line of distinguished ancestry. In character he was a true Pole. At the last partition of Poland, he and his brother Constantine were sent to St. Petersburg as hostages; and there he contracted an intimacy with Alexander, which continued when the latter succeeded to the imperial authority, and exercised considerable influence over the political career of Czartoryski. At the urgent solicitation of Alexander he accepted of various appointments in the Russian administration, first as ambassador to Turin, next as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and at the same time as Curator of the University of Wilna and commissioner for the establishment of schools in the Russian provinces of Poland. In all these offices, it was the aim and the good fortune of Czartoryski to preserve his fidelity to his country unshaken, at the same time that he performed his duty to the Emperor, in whose employment he served. Previous to the collision between Russia and France he had resigned his portfolio, and devoted himself to the improvement of his country through his connexion with the University of Wilna, perceiving, perhaps, that a time was coming, when the duties of a minister of

state would militate with the interests which he held most dear. During the struggle between Alexander and Napoleon, it was his constant endeavor to impress on the minds of all, the great truth, that the balance of power in Europe could only be maintained by the restoration of Poland. He accompanied Alexander to Paris in 1814 in order to effect this object; so that probably much of the good feeling of Alexander towards Poland, and especially the liberal constitution he gave the Kingdom, may be attributed to Czartoryski's persuasions. When he saw the disappointment of his hopes by the continued violation of the Charter, he broke off all his relations with the Russian government, and was loud in his complaints concerning the wrongs done his country. When the Revolution commenced, he was residing on his estates at Pulawy, about eighteen leagues from Warsaw. He did not hesitate to embark his life and fortune in the cause of Poland, entering into the contest with a generosity of purpose, and continuing in it with a self sacrificing devotedness of patriotic virtue, which were above all praise.

Prince Michael Radziwill was in rank and possessions of the same class with Czartoryski. — Being too young, at the time of the last partition, to share in the glorious effort of Kosciuszco, he passed his early years in the fashionable pleasures of high life; and thus it happened that, when Napoleon entered Warsaw in 1806, he was selected to be Chamberlain to the Emperor. But Napoleon, with his accustomed penetration, soon discovered that young Radziwill was fitted for a higher sphere, and conferred on him the command of a Polish regiment in active service. Radziwill was greatly distinguished in several campaigns, until the political changes, consequent on the fall of Napoleon, led him to seek retirement, in spite

of the solicitations and flattering offers of Alexander. Subsequently he became a prominent member of the Polish Senate, where he signalized his love of country by opposing the course of Russian policy, and it was thus he became endeared to the Poles.

Chlopicki began his career under Kosciuszko in the former struggle of the Poles for independence. Afterwards he entered the Polish Legion under Napoleon, gradually rising to the rank of general of division, in which capacity he served in Spain. When Poland fell into the hands of Alexander, Chlopicki took umbrage at some one of those insulting expressions, which Constantine was continually addressing to the Polish army, and replying to the reproof of the Grand Duke, that he did not gain his rank, nor receive his decorations, on the parade ground, he demanded his discharge, and firmly resisted all the instances of the Grand Duke and the Emperor that he would resume his station, preferring honorable poverty and obscurity to the glitter of Russian servitude. His military reputation, and the independence of soul he had displayed, drew the eyes of the nation upon him at this crisis.

The great prominence acquired in the sequel by these individuals makes it proper they should be noticed thus, distinctly from the other members of the Council. At first the patriots gave the temporary command of the troops in Warsaw to General Pac; but so soon as Chlopicki would consent to act, he was by general acclamation placed at the head of the army; for his high standing made his accession to the cause a point of extreme interest to the insurgents.

The first important step taken by the new Council was to send a deputation to the Grand Duke, to demand whether he meant to depart

peaceably or to attack the city. The deputies found him encamped in the fields of Mokotow with a force of about 8000 men, and proposed to him to depart unmolested on a prescribed route, promising him every possible accommodation for himself and his troops on the way. In his reply Constantine promised not to attack the city without giving forty eight hours notice, but made no engagement as to his departure. Not satisfied with this, the provisional government sent another deputation to the Grand Duke two days afterwards, informing him that if he did not leave the Kingdom immediately, he would be attacked. Seeing the necessity of compliance, he attempted no further delay, and departed the next morning by way of Pulawa, as prescribed to him, after addressing a moderate and temperate proclamation to the Poles, in which he assured them of his good offices with the Emperor, and exhorted them to deal gently with the Russians detained in Warsaw. He broke up his camp on the 3rd of December, and on the 13th passed the frontiers into the ancient Polish province of Volhynia, every thing being prepared for him by agents, whom the Poles had sent in advance. With honorable foes, and under circumstances affording any reasonable hopes of accommodation, this procedure might have been well; but as it proved, the Poles gained no favors by their generosity, and lost the advantages they might have derived from the capture of Constantine and his corps. It was one of the first errors of the Poles; for they should have expected no concessions from Russia, nor yielded a single advantage in a contest with her for independence.

In these early days of the Revolution, all, of course, was excitement and enthusiasm. In the capital and in the provinces the Polish eagle took the place of the Russian. A national guard was

organized with Count Lubinski for commander. Troops continued to enter Warsaw, filled with the zeal of recovered independence. The students of the University, to the number of a thousand, formed themselves into a legion of honor under the orders of Professor Szyrma. These young men were animated with a peculiarly martial spirit; Chlopicki was their idol; and they were ready to commit the control of the Revolution to a military dictatorship. Under the auspices of Lelewel the Patriotic Club was formed, and instantly became a busy and powerful agent in public affairs. They assembled daily, men of all classes and conditions, armed, and giving themselves up to the vehement impulses of a large popular assembly. But the theatres were the great scene of patriotic effervescence. Plays, music, dance, spectacle, every thing, which scenic Art could call into action, was made to minister gratification to the enthusiasm of the hour; and if any distinguished patriot made his appearance in the boxes, he was greeted with loud applause, and called upon to address the multitude. Nor were these feelings confined to Warsaw; for the people rose on all hands to disarm the Russian guards on the Prussian and Austrian frontiers, civil functionaries were changed, and the fortresses of Modlin and Zamosc gained possession of by the patriots.

The Council of administration, bearing the forms of Russian rule, could not stand before all these demonstrations of the popular will. It yielded place to a Provisional Government, composed of Czartoryski, Kochanowski, Pac, Dembowski, Niemcewicz, Lelewel, and Ladislas Ostrowski, all of them trusted Poles. These successive changes of government all took place during the first few days of December; and on the 5th of that month, Chlopicki, sustained by the public voice,

assumed the name and power of Dictator, to be exercised until the meeting of the Diet, which was summoned for the 18th of December, the insurrection having now proceeded so far as to possess the exterior form, as well as the substance, of a true revolution.

When the Grand Duke departed for Volhynia, some Polish regiments, which had hitherto remained with him, also joined the cause of their country. On several following days, great numbers of soldiers and peasants continued to flock into the city from all sides, the peasants being armed with scythes and axes in default of other weapons. Tables were spread with refreshments for them in the streets, while young and old, nobles and peasants, met and embraced as friends and equals. On Sunday the 6th, the churches of Warsaw were crowded with persons from the provinces; and in Praga, the religious services were performed in the open air, in the presence of more than 50,000 men, an altar having been constructed on the spot where the victims of Suwaroff's cruelty were buried. After the close of the services the most animating exhortations were addressed to the assembled multitude. Again, on the 6th, another public solemnity took place, which had the same tendency to rouse and inspirit the people,—Chlopicki being publicly installed as Dictator in the Champ de Mars, in presence of the army, the senators, all the prominent patriots, and more than a hundred thousand persons met to witness the spectacle, before whom he solemnly engaged to defend the rights and liberties of Poland.

Poland being now, for the moment, free, it was natural, and in the ordinary course of things, that men should begin to group themselves in parties more or less tenaciously combined; for, in

such a crisis, opinions, leading to a particular line of policy, develop themselves at once in party combinations. Hence the domestic history of revolutions, as of the working of free institutions in general, is in a great measure the history of parties. In the outset, indeed, there was but one party, one sentiment, directed to the enfranchisement of Poland from the tyranny of the Russians. The number of individuals, who from habit or interest were attached to the Muscovite domination, was too small to exercise any influence over the march of events. Of these, a part perished in the night of the 29th of November; others were thrown into the prisons, from which true Poles were at the same time discharged; some sought an asylum in the Russian camp or capital; and such as remained in Poland, and at large, lived only by virtue of their silence and obscurity. But the prominent and active patriots were not long in manifesting very different aims and opinions, upon the broad questions of public policy growing out of the actual condition of Poland.

Count Soltyk furnishes very full explanations regarding the divisions under consideration.— Three distinct parties, running into one another occasionally, and each subdivided into shades of opinion, might readily be discerned, namely, the conservative and the constitutional parties, and the party of movement.

The *conservative* party had its friends in the highest classes of society, the great nobles, the higher dignitaries of the church and state, many officers of the army, and the capitalists who dreaded the consequences of uncertain and indefinable change. They discouraged agitations at home, and hoped to escape collisions abroad; and whilst all desirous of the emancipation of Poland, they doubted its present practicability. Some of them

would have been content with the Charter of Alexander faithfully and liberally administered, and applied, if it might be, to the whole of ancient Poland. Others would have preferred a new dynasty elected by the nation. Of the conservative party Prince Czartoryski might be considered the representative and chief.

The *constitutional* party entertained more extensive views of political melioration, but were the slaves of constitutional forms, and were filled with perpetual apprehension of extra-legal changes, and whatever partook of, or was attained by, social convulsions. They rallied around Vincent Niemoiowski, the unshaken advocate of the national interests as a powerful writer and an eloquent orator in the Diet, and long the object, on that account, of Russian persecution.

The *movement* party embraced the fiery and resolute spirits, who had planned, begun, and accomplished the Revolution, and who relied upon the energies of invincible will, and the patriotic enthusiasm of the nation, for the salvation of Poland. War, immediate, general, and popular, was the path to freedom they desired to tread: independence or death the alternative they stood prompt to try. And singular as it may seem, this party had for its leader Joachim Lelewel, a profound scholar, a man little used to the bustle of the world, but active, bold, and sagacious, and atoning for the want of that vigor of purpose common to military experience by the native vigor of indomitable spirit.

From this brief delineation of parties, it is apparent that the conservative and movement parties constituted the extremes, between which the constitutional held the balance; and thus, in each particular crisis, while the moderate side were accused of inaction, want of energy, indecision, —

their opponents were charged with a spirit of insubordination and revolt, totally incompatible with the administration of affairs in the state or the army.

In the early stages of the Revolution, these varieties of opinions were, of course, less distinctly pronounced, acquiring expansion and intensity only from the progress of events. For even Czartoryski and his friends seemed to be aware of the necessity of acting, of going forward; the first step had been taken, and it was impossible to stop. — Just before the time appointed for the meeting of the Diet, twenty of its members, including Czartoryski, Lelewel, and Ladislas Ostrowski, had an interview with the Dictator, to express the desire of the Poles to enter without qualification into the path opened by the Revolution, to fight and not to negotiate. Chlopicki replied that he could only guaranty the Kingdom against the arms of the Russians, and maintain the Constitution and laws; and when the Nuncio Zwierkowski urged that all Poland should be summoned to rise as one man, for victory or death, the Dictator cut short the interview by exclaiming:—‘I am here in the name of the constitutional King, and cannot enter into discussion with the members of the Diet,’ — and then quitted the apartment. If these expressions had been repeated in the Diet or communicated to the people at the time, the dictatorship would have ended at once; but a strong conviction of the purity of Chlopicki’s intentions, and of the necessity of his services in the field, induced the Polish patriots to conceal what they had heard, injurious as they deemed the policy of Chlopicki to the interests of the Revolution.

The first act of the Diet was revolutionary; for they chose Ladislas Ostrowski to be their Marshal or presiding officer, although the nomination of that officer was reserved to the crown by the

Charter. Scarcely was the Diet organized, when it was proposed to declare the Révolution to be national, that is, coextensive with the Polish language and race. 'Our tyrants,' said the Nuncio Malachowski, 'have violated 164 articles of the Constitution: we violate only one, but it is forever.' This resolution having been adopted as it were by acclamation, a subscription was forthwith opened, in money, arms, and horses, to the amount of 200,000 florins, in testimony of the hearty enthusiasm of the Nuncios in the cause of the Revolution.

When Chlopicki received information of these two acts, the election of Ostrowski, and the solemn acknowledgment of the Revolution, so contrary to his views, he hastened to resign his office, at midnight of the same day, leaving the state without a chief. But the popular opinion was so loud in favor of retaining Chlopicki at the head of the government, and the Diet itself was so firmly convinced of its necessity, that infinite pains were taken by Czartoryski, Ostrowski, and others, to induce him to accept the office anew from the vote of the Diet. They finally prevailed, and on the 20th of December a decree for that purpose was passed, in the following words:—

'1. The General Chlopicki is invested with the fullest authority, in the exercise of which he shall be subject to no responsibility. He is named Dictator.

'2. The authority of Dictator shall cease when he himself resigns it, or when the Delegation of Inspection, to be appointed by the Diet, shall see fit to depose him, and appoint in his place a commander in chief of the army. The Dictator shall then be released from all engagements.

'3. The Delegation, specified in the foregoing article, shall consist of the President of the Senate, five Senators chosen by the Senate, the Marshal of the Chamber of Nuncios, and eight members of the Chamber chosen by the Diet, one for each Palatinate of the Kingdom. In case of the death or absence of a Senator or Nuncio, the President of

the Senate and Marshal of the Chamber of Nuncios will appoint others to supply his place.

'4. In case of the death of the Dictator or cessation of his authority, the Diet will resume its labors, so soon as one half its members shall have assembled.

'5 The Dictator will select at his discretion the members of the government.

'6. After the publication of the present Decree, the Diet will be prorogued, and cannot reassemble pending the duration of the Dictatorship, except on the convocation of the Dictator.'

In this manner was the power of the Dictator legalized, by a vote unanimous, with exception of the single negative of the Nuncio Morawski. — The Dictator was received by the Diet that evening, and after a brief address from Czartoryski, as President of the Senate, and Ostrowski, as Marshal of the Diet, he addressed the members in the following words: —

'Representatives of the Kingdom of Poland, I am happy to receive this distinguishing proof of your confidence: — it is not in life to do it justice. I accept the dictatorship, because, in the concentration of all powers and in the directness given to the national forces, I see the salvation of our country. I am ready to sacrifice every thing to respond worthily to the expectations of my fellowcitizens. My actions shall be directed to a single point, the public weal; I will exercise the power which you confer on me until you think proper to resume it; and then, bowing to the national will, I shall peaceably regain my fireside, rich in a tranquil conscience, proud of having consecrated my last efforts to the service of my unhappy country.'

The Delegation of Inspection consisted of Prince Michael Radziwill, Gliszczynski, Kochanowski, Wodzynski, and Pac, Senators; of Leduchowski, Francis Soltyk, Morawski, Swirski, Dembowski, Stanislas Jezierski, Wezyk, and Wisniewski, Nuncios; and of the two presiding officers, Czartoryski and Ladislas Ostrowski. The sole function of this body was to superintend the actions of the Dictator, and if need should be, to de-

termine his authority. Chlopicki selected a Council of five persons, Czartoryski, Radziwill, Ostrowski, Dembowski, and Barzykowski, whose duty it should be to submit to him such measures as they thought the public good required, and appointed Thomas Lubinski Minister of the Interior, Bonaventure Niemoiowski of Justice, Jel-ski of Finance, Lelewel of Instruction, Krasinski of War, and Gustavus Malachowski of Foreign Affairs. These different bodies tended somewhat to counteract the efficacy of the principle of concentrated energy, which alone was consulted in appointing a Dictator; but still enough of power remained to him, if rightly exercised, to secure the independence of Poland.

Chlopicki's popularity, as we have already stated, was unbounded. It is admitted, on all hands, that he was a highminded honorable man, a general of eminent capacity, energy, and science, and devotedly attached to the welfare of Poland. But he began and proceeded upon a fatal error, misjudging altogether the exigencies of his office and of the time. He sought to reconcile his allegiance with revolution; and in so doing he made shipwreck of the hopes of his country. There was, in the beginning of the Revolution, but one surc decisive course to pursue, — but one, which held out a certain promise of success; — and that was, to rouse to battle the millions of ancient Poland in a mass, and to make Lithuania the seat of the war. But the time for action, — for striking a decisive blow in Lithuania which should have filled its provinces with insurrection, — was lost in fruitless diplomacy.

Chlopicki had closed the clubs, when he first assumed the dictatorship; but they still held their meetings in private, to discuss his measures, and the progress and prospects of the Revolution; and

they began to take alarm at the slowness with which the organization of forces proceeded, and to suspect the Dictator of counter-revolutionary designs. The journalists of the capital, too, were preparing to direct the newspaper press against him, the moment that plausible grounds of complaint should arise.

Chlopicki's first care, on obtaining power, had been to despatch the Minister Lubecki and the Nuncio Jezierski to Saint Petersburg, as envoys to negotiate in behalf of Poland. They were charged to demand that all Russian troops should be withdrawn from the Kingdom forever, — that the privileges of the Constitution should be again confirmed in their full extent, — and that all the ancient Polish provinces incorporated with Russia should partake of the benefits of it, as Alexander had promised. In short, they demanded that the solemn pledges, which Russia had given to the Poles and to Europe, should be redeemed. They also invited Nicholas to open the Diet in person. All the preparations for war were paralysed in waiting the return of the deputation. In fact, Chlopicki had no certain knowledge of the views of the Emperor, until the public journals brought his proclamations of the 17th and 24th of December, addressed, the first to the Poles, and the second to the subjects of the Empire in general, which settled forever the question of peace and war.

In these documents, nothing is more worthy to be remarked than the hypocritical spirit of pretended religious confidence, which is particularly offensive in that addressed to the Russians. Here was a half-Asiatic despotism, which had acquired possession of Poland by a series of abominable frauds and cruelties, the blackest on the page of European history. Alexander had given

to the Poles, and Nicholas had confirmed, a constitution, which each of them had sworn to maintain, and to do which all Russia was solemnly engaged to all Europe. This constitution Alexander and Nicholas had both violated in its most essential particulars, until, maddened by oppression the injured Poles had risen with arms in their hands to enforce its observance; and this was all, which, thus far, they had asked. Deaf to the demands of religion, honor, and justice, Nicholas was now preparing to march down his Tartar hordes upon this devoted people, and to blot them out from the face of outraged and insulted Europe; and in these circumstances, he dared to speak of his 'confidence in God the constant benefactor of Russia;' — and even to use such language as this: — 'God, THE PROTECTOR OF RIGHT, *is with us*; and all-powerful Russia will be able, with a decisive blow, to bring to order those who have dared to disturb her tranquillity.' We know of no parallel for the shocking blasphemy of these expressions, except in the similar style of the early Mahometan conquerors, who, with the koran in one hand and the scimitar in the other, carried fire and sword through more than three fourths of Christendom.

Meaning as these documents were, they did not suffice to open the eyes of Chlopicki. He still persisted in checking the onward march of the Revolution, and postponing the operations of war as dangerous and useless. Here was the primary cause of difference between him and the Delegation of Inspection. Another controversy arose upon the tenor of a manifesto, which the Diet had ordered to be prepared, as a declaration of the motives and purposes of the Revolution, and which must of necessity designate the political character of the movement. This paper consisted of an elabor-

ate justification of the Poles for throwing off their allegiance, and concludes in these terms of resolvedness and self-devotion:—

‘ If in this contest, the dangers of which we do not seek to dissemble, we must combat alone for the interest of all, full of confidence in the holiness of our cause, in our own valor, and in the assistance of the Eternal, we shall combat for freedom to the last gasp. And if Providence has destined this land to perpetual servitude, — if, in the final struggle, the liberty of Poland must succumb under the ruins of her cities and the corpses of her defenders, our foe shall reign over deserts only; and every good Pole will in dying carry the consolation with him to the grave, that, if Heaven have not permitted him to save his own freedom and his own country, he has at least, by this combat to the death, protected for a while the liberties of Europe.’

This manifesto had been drawn up by a committee of the Diet, consisting of the Senators Prazmowski, Michael Potocki, Stanislas Malachowski, — the Nuncio Gustavus Malachowski, Swidzinski, Alois Biernacki, and Joachim Lelewel, — and the Deputy Zwierkowski. It contradicted the personal opinions and aims of Chlopicki, who forbade its publication. It was privately circulated, however, in lithograph, although without signature. This circumstance decided the secret societies to make arrangements for the deposition of the Dictator. Their plans were denounced to him by an officer of the army, named Dobrzanski, to whom they had been communicated; and on the 12th of January he caused the arrest of Lelewel, Bronikowski, and Boleslas Ostrowski, who were among the persons accused by Dobrzanski. The arrest lasted only a few hours; for Chlopicki found that he would not be borne out in proceeding against such individuals in such a form. And, amid the excitement caused by this step, there arrived from Saint Petersburg a messenger, whom Chlopicki, impatient that he heard

nothing from Lubecki, had sent thither for the purpose of obtaining information. He arrived in Warsaw on the 15th of January; and the Dictator immediately assembled the members of his Council to consider the intelligence received.

It appeared by verbal communications of the messenger, that the Muscovite armies were in march for the frontier, and of course war was imminent. He bore also two short letters from the Minister Grabowski. One, addressed to Count Sobolewski, President of the Polish Council of administration previous to the Revolution, required the members of that Council to repair to Saint Petersburg. The other, addressed to Chlopicki himself, signified to him that his only course was to conform himself to the terms of the imperial proclamation of the 18th of December. When these papers had been read, a majority of the Council pronounced unhesitatingly for war. But Chlopicki warmly resisted this; — and being resolved not to assume the responsibility of deciding the point himself, he convoked the Diet for the 19th of January.

These circumstances being communicated to the Deputation of the Diet, they immediately sought an interview with the Dictator; and in the conversation which ensued, Chlopicki declared that his opinion was for an accommodation on the terms proposed by the Emperor. Struck with sorrow and indignation at this avowal, the Deputation saw that the time had arrived for exercising their authority; and they signified to General Chlopicki that he had ceased to be Dictator. — Public opinion, of course, universally condemned Chlopicki. But conscious that, whether he had erred or not, his motives had been upright and patriotic, he bore himself with confidence and courage, walking the streets of Warsaw amid the

excited multitudes, as if nothing had occurred to render him an object of distrust, although aware that he was loudly accused of treason. Thenceforth he appeared in the field of battle only as a simple volunteer, where he still rendered invaluable services to his country by his military talents, and his experience of war. For he did not disdain to serve without rank in that army, which he once commanded, and ought himself to have led to victory. But unfortunately he despaired of the cause of his country, at a season, when a straightforward, uncompromising appeal, — a summons of all Poland to arms, — a proclamation of liberty to the serf and of independence to the master, — should have rung through Polish Russia. It was a time when moderation was madness, and madness was profound policy.

On the 18th of January the Nuncio Jezierski returned from Saint Petersburg, bringing full confirmation of the tidings of Chlopicki's messenger. It now became a matter of the last necessity to place a competent person at the head of the army; for it was on the field of battle that Poland was to gain or lose her liberties. Unfortunately, there was no individual, who united all the qualities requisite for the emergency, except Chlopicki, who, if he had embarked cordially and unflinchingly in the cause of the Revolution, would have continued to carry with him the enthusiastic support of the Polish nation. Szembek, Krukowiecki, Pac, each was thought of, and the idea of each abandoned. In these circumstances two of the Nuncios, Morawski and Biernacki, applied to Chlopicki once more, urging him to take the command. They found him unshaken in his first purpose, but calm, and ready to act his part in the approaching struggle as a private citizen. They asked his advice on the subject of a commander

in chief; and he indicated Prince Radziwill. The suggestion struck them forcibly, and they succeeded in gaining to their views a majority of the Diet. Radziwill was raised to this important post in the session of January 21st, the votes of the minority being for General Pac. In accepting the command, Radziwill declared that he would hold it only until events should disclose some military genius, competent to direct worthily the energies of the nation. The moderation and frankness of this remark gained him additional favor, and men pleased themselves to see at the head of the army a fit descendant of the great Constable Radziwill, who in the seventeenth century had planted the Polish eagle upon the towers of Moscow.

Another important step remained to be taken. It will have been observed, in the course of our narrative, that the Poles, thus far, had been halting between rebellion and revolution. They had established a revolutionary government, they were arming themselves to maintain their stand by the sword; but they had not yet decided whether their ultimate object was to enforce the compact of 1815, or to raise a new dynasty to the throne. Men seemed unwilling to approach this point, reluctant to look the future distinctly in the face. Roman Soltysk brought forward a motion on the 21st, which dissolved this state of doubt and uncertainty. It consisted of these three brief articles:—

‘1 The Polish Nation declares its entire independence, the Romanoff family deposed from the Polish throne, and all the rights which it possessed over Poland annulled.

‘2. The Polish Nation is discharged of its oath of fealty, which it considers as forced and contrary to its interests; it discharges from the same oath our brothers of the Russo-Polish provinces; it declares that every Pole owes fealty and obedience only to the Diet, which represents the Revolution of the 29th of November and the rights of the whole Polish Nation subjected to the sceptre of Russia.

3. The Nation declares that all power emanates from the people, and that Poland, which has regained independence by the Revolution of the 29th of November, possesses also the unlimited right to regulate its own affairs, and to establish whatever government it pleases.

This proposition was received with profound silence, which sufficiently attested both its importance, and the indecision of mind in which it found the Diet. The members of the movement party, to which Soltyk belonged, had not been consulted by him, and were unprepared to act; the constitutional party thought ill of the measure; and the conservative party were vehemently opposed to each of the articles. The motion, however, was committed, and several days elapsed before it was again taken up. On the 24th, Lelewel presented a petition signed by several hundred Russo-Poles, residing at Warsaw, demanding the reunion of the dismembered provinces of ancient Poland.

Meanwhile the circulation, by Marshal Diebitsch, of proclamations addressed by him to the Poles preparatory to invading the country with the Russian forces, had begun to satisfy the Diet that no middle course remained to them; and the proceedings of the 25th of January settled the question conclusively. On that day the Ministers communicated to the Diet the two letters of Grabowski, and the report of the Nuncio Jezierski. It appeared that Jezierski had an interview with the Czar on the 10th of December, in which, of course, Nicholas adhered to the position assumed by him in his proclamation of the 17th of that month, refusing to go beyond the promises contained therein, or to reunite the Russian provinces of Poland. Jezierski submitted a written statement of the grievances of the Poles, which was afterwards returned to him with annotations written by the Czar's own hand, and was now submitted to the Diet.

This document was curious in itself, and quite decisive in its effect on the deliberations of the Diet. Nicholas totally denied the alleged grievances of the Poles. He applied extremely harsh language to the prominent men of the Revolution. One of the annotations was in these words: — ‘ I am King of Poland; I will hold it: *the first cannon shot that is fired by the Poles will annihilate Poland.*’ The deportment of the Diet, on hearing these words, smacked of their old days of martial independence, when her myriad of nobles pitched their tents for the camp-diets of the plain of Warsaw. One of the Nuncios arose, and exclaimed, — ‘ Nicholas shall find us in the field of battle; — between us and him, let the sword decide.’ In saying these words, he struck his hand against the guard of his sabre, which rang through the hall, in the deep and solemn silence of the assembled representatives of Poland. Upon this, the Marshal of the Diet suggested to the members that it was necessary to act upon the motion of Roman Soltyk. His brother, Anthony Ostrowski, reminded the Diet that his father, being President of the Senate at the time when the Kingdom of Poland was formed, had said to Alexander, on his receiving the Charter, — ‘ This compact is sacred: *woe be to him who shall infringe it.*’ The Diet could no longer hesitate what to do. They appointed Niemcewicz to draw up an act deposing Nicholas, in place of Soltyk’s proposition, to the following effect:

‘ The most solemn treaties are obligatory only so long as they are observed by the contracting parties. The long suffering with which we have borne our protracted grievances is known to the whole world. The violation, so often repeated, of the liberties guarantied to us by the oaths of two monarchs, releases the Polish Nation this day from the oath it has sworn to its sovereign; and the Emperor Nicholas having declared, in so many words, that the first cannon

shot fired on our side shall be the signal for the destruction of Poland, all hope of obtaining the reparation of so many injuries is at an end, and nothing remains to us but to obey the dictates of a noble despair.

‘The Polish Nation, represented by the two Chambers, declares itself an independent people, and invested with the right of conferring the crown upon whomsoever it should deem worthy to wear it, upon one, above all, whom it shall deem incapable of violating the faith he shall swear, — and with the right to defend all the national liberties.’

This act was unanimously adopted and subscribed by the members of the Diet, who, with that noble self dedication which has distinguished the Poles, in drawing the sword threw away the scabbard, like Hernan Cortes on the shores of Mexico, cutting off all hope of retreat and all ground of indecision by setting fire to the ships of his fleet. Bold as the measure was, it was what the people and the army expected and demanded; and it was greeted with universal applause, and celebrated by spontaneous illuminations of the city. It was so fully in accordance with the views of the party of movement, that the journals in their interest, and the Patriotic Society, whose ordinary meetings had been resumed, manifested a degree of exultation, which excited great alarm among the friends of order, and influenced the organization of the government.

In establishing the provisional government, a contest arose between one party, which desired to maintain the monarchical principle by conferring the civil power on an individual or individuals irresponsible in their own persons, and the other, which sought to introduce the republican principle of universal responsibility. A conviction of the necessity of giving the utmost degree of energy to the government, so as to make sure of avoiding anarchy, prevailed. A Commission of Government was constituted, to comprise five ir-

responsible persons, who should appoint six Ministers charged with the duties of administration. The Commission were to exercise all the functions of power with the following exceptions. 1. The enactment of laws and the control of peace or war belonged to the Diet exclusively; and vacancies in the Senate were to be supplied by vote of the Nuncios. 2. The Commander in Chief was to have sole direction of the operations of war. — Czartoryski and Barzykowski of the conservative party, Vincent Niemoiowski and Morawski of the constitutional, and Lelewel of that of movement, — were elected to compose the Government.

Along with the progress of these events, the assemblies of the Patriotic Society had continued to grow more and more numerous, regular, and imposing. They sought, also, to give themselves an official existence under the sanction of the Diet. But the Diet judged wisely that the only proper body for the consideration and adoption of public measures was the Diet itself, it being intolerable that an irresponsible club should undertake to dictate public measures, when the people had appointed their representatives, whose regular duty it was to enact the laws. Nothing, it was clear, but anarchy and ruin could arise from the admission of the pretensions of the Society.

At the same time, a majority of the Diet declared itself against the democratic ideas and principles, which the party of the movement were industrious to propagate. To put an end to controversy on this point, the Diet adopted, on the 8th of February, a profession of political faith, which all the inhabitants of the country were required to swear to and subscribe. It consisted of three articles, of which two are material: —

- ‘ 1. The Diet declares, in the name of the Nation, that it

recognizes the principle of constitutional representation, with the right of succession in a reigning family elected by the Nation as alone suited to the wants of Poland ; and that, even during the present interregnum, it will not permit any person to infringe the forms of law and will itself observe them scrupulously.

'2. Before the Nation, through the instrumentality of the Diet, shall make choice of a King, the oath of fidelity shall be taken by all Poles to the Diet which represents the Nation, and which only at this time possesses the attributes of sovereignty. This oath shall be taken by the ecclesiasties, the army, the civil *employés*, the villages and the towns, and in a word by all the inhabitants of the country, after the following formula, "I swear fidelity to my country and the Polish nation, represented by the Diet ; I swear also to recognize no other functionaries but those instituted by the national representation, and moreover to support with all my power the cause of the national insurrection, in order to establish the liberty and existence of the Nation.'

The death-grapple was now at hand. The Poles had flung themselves upon their national enthusiasm, their reminiscences of the past and their hopes of the future, to bear them successfully through the impending contest. They were as little content with passive submission to injury then, as their fathers were when the Prince de Ligne counselled them to be quiet and yet again quiet, for that insurrection was death.* It behoves us now to consider, therefore, what preparations had been made for war, and the line of policy to be pursued with the best prospect of success, — or should it rather be said? — with the least certainty of defeat.

Chlopicki had relied upon negotiations, — negotiations with Russia, negotiations with other powers of Europe. What was the result of the mission of Lubecki and Jeziecki we have seen. It is curious to examine the account given of

* 'En attendant, je le répète : Soyez tranquille, et soyez tranquille ; si vous remuez, vous êtes morts.'

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the other missions by the Poles themselves, and on the face of things sufficiently plausible.

Agents were despatched to Vienna and Berlin, who, of course, accomplished nothing at the Austrian or Prussian courts, and could have entertained little hope of moving them in the cause of revolution. There was room, however, to hope for aid in London and Paris, where popular rights were somewhat more in vogue than at Vienna or Berlin. Wielopolski was sent to Great Britain, Wolycki to France. As to the general question, the views of Lord Palmerston and of Comte Sébastiani, who at that time had the immediate direction of foreign affairs in their respective countries, were substantially similar, because they were suggested by all the circumstances of the case. The Poles, it will be recollected, and especially Chlopicki, began with demanding only the execution of the Constitution conceded by Alexander. They stood in the attitude of subjects pleading with their sovereign for the redress of alleged grievances. They had not, like Belgium, at once assumed the ground of national independence. Of course, the English and French Ministers dared not venture to volunteer effective aid in behalf of the Poles as insurgent subjects of powerful Russia. All they could do to encourage the Poles, in the existing state of things, was to claim of Nicholas the observance of the stipulations made by Russia at the Congress of Vienna, which, as parties thereto, they were entitled to demand. But this would be very different from giving independence to the present Kingdom of Poland, or breathing life anew into the dismembered limbs of ancient Poland.

England, indeed, was more backward on the subject than France. The British Ministers were unsteadily seated in office, and occupied with the

great question of parliamentary reform. Soltyk intimates that the case of Ireland too strongly resembled that of Poland, to permit Great Britain to act in the spirit of independence upon such a question; and there is manifest point in the remark. But although contests of party in France tended to embarrass the decisions of the French Ministers, still France held in forced subjection no conquered kingdom, eager to shake off her yoke. Her actual position gave her a strong impulse in favor of revolutionary principles. And the ties of ancient alliance, and of recent cooperation in a long career of victory, attached the French to Poland, as much as the recollection of Moscow, Leipsic, and Waterloo rendered the name of Russia odious. For these and other considerations, M. de Mortemart was commissioned to repair to Saint Petersburg, and intercede for the Poles. But it was on the footing of the treaty of Vienna that his instructions were given; and when he arrived at Berlin on his way to the North, he was met by intelligence of the proposed deposition of Nicholas, and other proceedings consequent thereon, which totally changed the state of the question, so far as regarded the policy of France.

Hence, although Poland continued soliciting the good offices of other governments, and especially France, she saw that her only immediate measure was war, and war to the knife. The sentiments of the hour were aptly expressed by the soldiers of a regiment of the Line, who formed in hollow square, and made oath never to use their muskets but in charging the enemy at point of bayonet; and who, on overhearing some of their officers speak despondingly of the national prospects, exclaimed, — ‘We can but die.’ It was, indeed, in the exaltation of popular masses, that, under

Providence, the sole hope of salvation for Poland lay.

Early in the progress of the Revolution, the Dictator had appointed two *Régimentaires* so called, Comte Roman Soltyk for the four provinces on the right bank of the Vistula, and Count Malachowski for the four on the left: their duty being to raise levies, appoint their officers, and direct the arming and military organization of the people. Owing to the vacillating purposes of the Dictator, the *Régimentaires* did not accomplish their task so effectually as they otherwise would have done, yet they succeeded to impress upon the population the requisite impulse. It was the plan of Soltyk, who had charge of the provinces contiguous to Russia, to propagate a revolutionary spirit throughout the Empire; and if he had been authorized and permitted to undertake it, the issue of the contest might have been the triumph of Poland. He would have attempted, in the first place, to rouse the Russian nobility against the Asiatic despotism by which they were ruled. If he failed in this, he would have proclaimed freedom to the serf, and would have stimulated the city-population to join that of the fields in rending asunder the chains of imperial and aristocratic oppression at once. Had this plan been followed, who may venture to say what would have been its consequences in regard of Poland and of the Russian Empire?

CHAPTER V.

Polish Forces.—Diebitsch enters Poland.—Military Operations.—Various Engagements.—Negociations.—Battle of Gorkow.—Appointment of Skrzynecki.—Efforts of the Poles.—Operations of Dwernicki.—Propositions.—Skrzynecki's Operations.—Insurrection in Lithuania.—Battle of Igani.—Strength of the Armies.—Skrzynecki's Plans.—Defeat of Sierawski.—Dwernicki's Operations.—The Cholera Morbus.—Battles of Kuflew and Minsk.—Advance of the Poles.—Battle of Ostrolenka.—Death of Diebitsch.

HORDYNSKI calculates that the Polish army, as it existed at the beginning of the Revolution, was composed of 26,000 men, 19,000 of infantry and 7,200 of cavalry, with 72 pieces of cannon. The Dictator proposed to increase this force so as to make a total of 69,200 men, including 5,400 of infantry, and adding 24 pieces of cannon. This augmentation of the army was to have been completed by the 20th of January 1831; but effective arrangements for that purpose were not made; and the organization proceeded slowly. Nor were the proposed fortifications constructed so extensively as had been designed. Nothing was omitted, however, at Warsaw and Praga, where the zeal of the people supplied every deficiency. — But in fact the Dictator had relied too much on his negotiations; and thus lost time, which, in regard to military preparations, was invaluable. When, therefore, the proclamations of Nicholas were received at Warsaw, although the universal cry of the indignant nation was to be led to battle, yet the enrolments remained incomplete.

Four months had now elapsed, and a numerous Russian force was gathering under Marshal Diebitsch, surnamed, from his successful passage of

the Balkan, Zabalkanski. If the Poles had assumed the offensive at the first moment of the Revolution, they might have carried on the war in the territory of Russia, or at least in the Polish provinces of the Empire, where the diffusion of the revolutionary movement could have been promoted, at the same time that the war made progress. By acting on the defensive, the Poles suffered the war to be brought home into their own territory, and to the very neighborhood of Warsaw. This was found to be the inevitable necessity of the crisis; and Prince Radziwill made his preparations accordingly. We have seen what number of troops the Dictator had proposed to raise. Owing to his want of heartiness in effecting the levies, the Poles saw the vast armies of their enemy approaching before things were in a ripe state for the struggle. At the beginning of the campaign, which was about to open, they mustered the following troops. The whole infantry consisted of 32,600 men, in four nearly equal divisions, commanded by Generals Krukowiecki, Zymirski, Skrzynecki, and Szembek. The cavalry amounted to 13,200 men. Generals Uminski, Stryinski, Lubinski, and Pac commanded each a division of cavalry; and four squadrons were attached to a corps commanded by General Dwernicki. It was with these comparatively insignificant forces, of 45,800 men and 96 pieces of cannon, that the Poles took the field, against a force of more than 111,000 men and 396 pieces of artillery; many of the Poles, also, being new recruits under new officers, while the Russians were veteran troops commanded by men, who had grown grey in victory.

The Polish troops left Warsaw towards the end of January, it having been decided to concentrate them at points in the line of march of the

Russian army, and, after gradually drawing the latter on to the environs of Warsaw, there to fight a decisive battle. The Russians continued to assemble on the frontiers simultaneously with the marching of the Poles, extending their line from Kowno on the north to Włodzimierz on the south, that is, along the entire frontier of Poland. Diebitsch, upon entering the Kingdom, addressed long and wordy proclamations to the Poles and Polish soldiers, which only had the effect of rendering them more eager for battle. The right of the Russians, in two columns under Szachoffskoi and Mandersten, entered Poland by Grodno. — Geissmar and Kreutz led the left, also of two columns, which entered by Włodawa. — The centre, under the immediate orders of Diebitsch, was composed of three columns and a reserve, of which the two first, under Pahlen and Rosen, entered from Białystok, and the third, under Witt, from Bielsk, while the reserve remained under the orders of the Grand Duke Constantine. Their plan was to bear down in force upon the centre of the Polish army, and to outflank the rest; and they expected then to push on to Warsaw. The Poles prepared for them by concentrating their troops into a narrow line of operations, so as to compensate for inferiority in numbers. — It is very difficult to follow military operations without constant inspection of accurate and very full maps and plans; but a few explanations may render it easy to comprehend the brief sketch, which alone we shall attempt, of the various movements of the hostile armies.

Warsaw, it will be observed, is situated on the Vistula, not far above its junction with the Bug. The town or suburb of Praga occupies the opposite bank of the Vistula, the two places being united by a bridge, and having the same relative

position as London and Southwark, or Boston and Charlestown. Through the scene of the Polish war the Vistula flows from the southeast, until it meets the Bug coming from the northeast, after the river has received the Narew descending by a circuitous route also from the northeast, but considerably to the north of the Bug. Previously, however, to its uniting with the Narew, the Bug forms an abrupt curve, having commenced its progress far to the south towards the Carpathian mountains, and flowing northwardly to the town of Brzesc, when it assumes more of a westerly direction, until it makes the sudden bend before mentioned, and thus continues on southwesterly to the Vistula. Opposite to the most abrupt and marked portion of this curvature is found the small river Lieviec, which nearly joins together the two extremities of the curvature, and thus forms a marshy tract of land between the two rivers. Bialystok is on a small branch of the Narew near where it enters Poland, and Wlodawa is on the Bug to the south of Brzesc, and it was along the line of frontier from Wlodawa on the south to Bialystok on the north, that the great body of the Russian forces entered Poland; it being understood that the extreme right under Szachoffskoi approached from Grodno, and the extreme left under Kreutz from Wlodzimierz, the opposite extremities of the frontier line of the Kingdom.

The line of the Poles was directly in front of that of the Russians, their left wing being at Pultusk on the Narew above its junction with the Bug, and their centre and right wing extending across the Bug, and along the marshes of the Lieviec, to the south of Siedlce on the latter stream. Supposing Warsaw to be at the apex or top of a triangle having its two sides equal, the Russian

army might be considered as forming the base of the triangle, while the Polish would be a shorter line drawn across the triangle near to its apex, so as to be fairly interposed between Warsaw and the enemy; — and by forming or conceiving a diagram of this kind, the system of operations on both sides will be readily apprehended.

The first encounter occurred on the 10th of February, it being a skirmish of outposts at Mendzyrzec in advance of the right wing of the Poles, and the latter having the advantage. Other skirmishes took place on the 11th near Siedlce, between the Polish outposts, and the advancing centre of the Russians under Diebitsch himself. On the 14th a more serious engagement took place in the same quarter. General Dwernicki had been posted with his corps beyond the right wing of the Poles, as a covering force. His small corps of 3,800 men was attacked, near Stoczek, by General Kreutz with 15,000 Russians, and gained a complete victory, the enemy losing nearly a third part of their number and being driven back in great disorder. It being then requisite that Dwernicki should retire upon the Vistula, in order to prevent the advance in that direction of a Russian corps under the Prince of Wurtemberg, the Polish right was also drawn back to prevent its being outflanked; and the consequence was the battle of Boimie on the 15th, between the Polish right under General Zymirski, and the Russian centre still commanded by Diebitsch in person. This affair consisted of multiplied but unsuccessful attempts of the Russians to force the passage of a dyke, which the Poles held until the Russians had retired, when the former withdrew to a new position in the rear. Meanwhile the Polish centre, under General Skrzynecki, had successfully executed a similar evolution, so that on the 17th

the right wing of the Poles was at Minsk, the centre in the environs of Dobre, and the left at Zegrz.

The 17th was a day of continued fighting along the greater part of the Polish line, the right being attacked at Minsk by General Rosen, and the centre in two successive positions at Makowiec and Dobre, by the Grand Duke and Marshal Diebitsch. In all these successive combats, the Russians sustained immense loss, their aim being to drive back the Poles at any sacrifice and by mere strength of numbers, and the object of the Poles being to occasion them all the loss possible, and then to retire from time to time towards Warsaw. It was in the battle of Dobre that Skrzynecki first attracted the attention of his countrymen to those great military talents, which subsequently caused his elevation to the supreme command. As indicative of the conduct and efforts of the battle, it is sufficient to state that, while the Poles lost only 800 men, the loss of the Russians amounted to several thousands in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The next day the Poles again retrograded along their whole line, and, as on the preceding day, Diebitsch devoted his troops to a dreadful but needless and fruitless carnage, in the forests of Milosna and Jablonna, by constantly bringing up his masses to the attack without any assignable object, suffering, himself, a loss of 10,000 men, without occasioning a loss of one tenth part that number to the Poles. At night-fall the latter began to deploy upon the plains of Wavre and Bialolenka near Praga. The thunder of their cannon at Milosna, which was plainly audible at Warsaw, had announced their approach, and the whole population of the city went out to welcome the defenders of their country, continuing with

them the following days, during the battles which ensued, to furnish supplies, and relieve the wounded. For Diebitsch persisted in his old tactics, pushing the attack without any change of plan on the 18th and 20th of February. During those two days, the Poles maintained their position unyieldingly, in spite of the enormously disproportioned forces, which Diebitsch brought to bear upon their whole line. It was a mere wanton sacrifice of lives, without any definite end or aim.

In fact, for ten days past, the two armies had been continually engaged in a succession of sanguinary battles, with 40,000 Poles only against 100,000 Russians, where the result had been uniformly the same in every case. The Russians attacked the Polish position every day, and were every day repulsed; it thus appearing how much may be effected by a handful of men excited by some strong moral inducement, when they differ from their antagonists neither in discipline, physical force, nor in any other respect, but only the mighty stimulus of a good and a glorious cause. Had the Poles been directed by some great master of the art of war, like Napoleon, — had the defensible points of the country been suitably prepared by the requisite fortifications, — the loss of the Russians, great as it already was, would have been incalculably greater. But neither Chlopicki nor Radziwill, although both honorable and patriotic men, were fully equal to the emergency; and therefore much of the success of the Poles was owing to the unconcerted dispositions of the several generals of division, who, as it often happened in the engagements along the line, each fought his own battle. It needed only a master mind to combine the Polish forces, and to give direction to the intense patriotism which animated officers and privates alike, to have doubled or trebled the injury sustained by the Russians.

For three days, from the 21st to the 23rd of February inclusive, the Russians remained inactive, awaiting the arrival of a new corps of 20,000 men under Szachoffskoi. They were occupied by the Poles in a manner as remarkable as the struggle itself in which they were engaged. The people assembled in the churches to offer up prayers for the welfare of their country, while the army was employed on the same way on the field of battle, the first line remaining in position, while the rest of the troops were engaged in devotional exercises. 'At each collection of troops, the ministers of religion administered patriotic oaths, and by their addresses animated the soldiers to perseverance in the holy struggle. The sacred ceremonies were followed by hymns, which were sung along the whole line, mingled with the solemn sounds of the bells of Warsaw tolling for the assembly of the people in the churches.' These exercises ended in the general shout of 'Poland forever!' Before commencing hostilities, Marshal Diebitsch sent General Witt with a flag of truce, to propose submission. Witt was stopped at the Polish outposts, where General Krukowiecki went to meet him in behalf of the Poles, and told him that negotiations must be entered into, if at all, on the banks of Dnieper, the ancient and the only true frontier of Poland.

The brief respite enjoyed by the hostile armies was but preparatory to a desperate conflict on the 25th. Indeed, on the 24th, a battle was fought at Bialolenka, of the same description with those which had preceded it. But the celebrated battle of Gorkow, on the 25th, deserves, from its desperation and its importance, to be more particularly described. The entire forces on each side were engaged in this combat. The Russians had in the field eight divisions, consisting of 126,-

000 infantry, 42,000 cavalry, and 280 pieces of cannon, with three divisions of reserve, composed of 16,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 32 pieces of cannon, covering altogether a line of three miles in length. To oppose this mighty host, the little army of the Poles was posted as follows. — A great road proceeds from Praga westward to Milosna and Minsk. To the right of this road, on leaving Praga, are the marshes of Goclaw adjoining the Vistula; to the left is a small forest of alders, beyond which is the village of Kawenzyn. Near the road, in the rear of the line of operations, is the village of Grokow, where the Polish head quarters were stationed. There is an obelisk of iron on the same line, placed on the road to commemorate its construction. The Polish right wing under Szembek, consisting of 7,000 infantry with 24 field pieces, occupied the space between the road and the marshes. The centre, occupying the forest of alders, comprised two divisions of 15,000 infantry and 60 pieces of cannon, under the command of Skrzynecki and Zymirski. The left wing, under Krukowiecki, occupied Kawenzyn, with 6,500 men and 12 field pieces. Four divisions of cavalry, consisting of 9,500 men, under Uminski, Lubinski, Skarzynski, and Jankowski, stood ready to be employed wherever necessity might require, without being posted at any fixed station; and there was a small reserve of 5,400 men in charge of Pac.

Such being the numbers and disposition of the two armies, the battle commenced with a furious charge of the Russian right wing upon the Poles at Kawenzyn, which the latter steadily sustained without yielding an inch, until at length the Russians suspended their efforts on that point, to renew them elsewhere. Forming a battery of two hundred pieces of artillery, which opened a tre-

mendous fire upon the whole extent of the Polish line, the Russians, after continuing this for some time, marched their columns against the left wing of the Poles, but were quickly repulsed by a charge of the whole Polish cavalry collected together for that purpose. Next followed a murderous attack on the Polish centre, with the intent of carrying the forest of alders, and thus dividing the Poles into two parts, so as to ensure their destruction. Fifty battalions of the Russians, amounting to 40,000 men, and supported by 120 pieces of cannon, endeavored for the space of four hours, by reiterated attacks, to gain possession of the forest of alders, and were nine times repulsed with immense loss, leaving the ground literally covered with their dead. It was only by performing prodigies of valor that so small a number of Poles could withstand such a disproportionate force. Of course the destruction of life on both sides was already great.

After this course of operations had continued from eleven to three o'clock, the Polish generals, each of whom had had his horse shot under him, and several of whom were severely wounded, resolved, by means of a retrograde movement of their centre, to draw the Russians into pursuing them, and then, having assumed a new and more favorable position near the iron obelisk, to renew the battle. The feint perfectly succeeded. Diebitsch, thinking the Poles had been compelled by their own losses to fly, began to reckon upon Warsaw as his. In superintending this manœuvre, General Zymirski was struck with a cannon ball, which caused his death in a few hours; but the misfortune occasioned no disorder in the Polish ranks, the movement being continued by General Czyzewski. Meantime Colonel Pientka, who had greatly distinguished himself during

the whole engagement in command of a battery of artillery, continued to hold in check the advancing Russians, until the last moment, when about forty squadrons of Russian cavalry were seen moving forward to the charge, followed by infantry and artillery. Pientka then retreated to the main body of the Poles. At this moment General Chlopicki, who as the adviser of Prince Radziwill was in effect the head of the army, was wounded by a grenade; but Skrzynecki and Czyzewski had already formed their squares and were prepared to receive the Russians. As the Russian cavalry advanced upon the trot, a discharge of rockets was poured into their ranks, which, united with the steady fire of the Polish squares, rendered the horses ungovernable, and threw the whole mass of cavalry into confusion. In a short time, the Russian squadrons were completely cut up, so completely, indeed, that one regiment of cuirassiers was destroyed to a man; and the wrecks of the routed cavalry, being closely pursued by the Polish lancers, and driven back on the columns of Russian infantry, carried the latter along with them in their flight, and compelled a general retreat of the forces, leaving the field to the Poles. After the close of the day, however, the Poles were fain to withdraw their forces into Warsaw, although Diebitsch had neither inclination nor power to attempt crossing the Vistula himself. The Poles lost but 5000 men, the Russians more than 10,000; and if the Poles had possessed a leader of sufficient boldness and skill to follow up the victory, the consequences might have been utterly fatal to Diebitsch.

A short period of inaction followed the bloody day of Grokow. The Russians as well as the Poles had suffered too much in the battle to resume offensive operations immediately. In fact,

on the withdrawal of Chlopicki from the army in consequence of his wounds, Prince Radziwill was unwilling to attempt any thing hazardous; and the fact tended to show how unfortunate it was for Poland that Chlopicki refused the post of generalissimo. His eminent abilities, the perfect confidence of the army in his experience and capacity for directing extensive military operations, and his undoubted purity of character, rendered him the fittest man in Poland to command her armies. When he was in the field, the officers continually recurred to him for direction, but it was not always that he would gratify their wishes. At the battle of Grokow he fought to desperation, displaying extraordinary courage and contempt of danger. Aides-de-camp rode up to him for orders, but at last he replied: — ‘Go to Radziwill; for me, all I seek is death.’ His intrepidity was of great service; but he would have served his country better by the side of Radziwill, in directing the general movements of the field.

As Radziwill apprehended that the Vistula might become impassable by the breaking up of the ice, he resolved to cross the river to Warsaw, and employ the interval gained by the late victory in recruiting the army. Te Deums were sung in all the churches of Warsaw, as well as in chapels of the camp, and for three successive nights the city was illuminated in honor of the defenders of their country. On the 27th Prince Radziwill resigned the chief command, avowing, with a modesty and a dignity of sentiment quite as honorable to him as the highest military science would have been, that the crisis demanded a leader more capable to fill so responsible a post. The Diet had no hesitation in fixing upon General John Skrzynecki to succeed him in command. Skrzynecki held the rank of colonel at the breaking out

of the Revolution, and was afterwards advanced to be general of division, in which capacity he displayed all those brilliant qualities of decision, energy, readiness of resource, rapidity of *coup d'œil*, and capacity of seizing conjunctures, which combine to form the great general. His appointment gave universal satisfaction in the army and the nation, infusing new zeal into all ranks and classes of the people. There was one man, indeed, Krukowiecki, who could not brook to see a young general of brigade elevated over his head; but the present was not the hour for him to manifest his resentment.

Skrzynecki began, from the first moment of his possessing authority, to form new forces, to complete those already on foot, and to supply the losses of those regiments, which had suffered from service. His energy and promptitude gave a new aspect to affairs. Unlike his predecessors, he was constantly among the soldiers or in the arsenals, urging on the organization, discipline, and equipment of the troops by the personal presence of their commander, the most efficacious of all methods for invigorating the movements of an army. By such means the enthusiasm of the Poles was raised to its height, as may be inferred from the circumstance that three companies of infantry were actually formed from among the Polish women, under the command of ladies of distinguished families. And while the Poles had every species of moral influence to stimulate and strengthen their resolution, the Russian army, on the other hand, was disheartened and discontented, the soldiers being reluctantly forced into the field to fight against their brethren, and the officers being so much suspected by their chiefs that all discussions of political subjects were rigorously prohibited. The Poles, of course, were not without hopes

of succor from abroad, or of a diversion by insurrection among the Russians themselves, beyond the limits of ancient Poland. They were induced to expect the latter event, by reason of an attempt of General Yermoloff to excite a revolution in the Russian department of Orenberg on the borders of Asia, of which intelligence arrived about this time, but which, as it happened, led to no serious consequences. And they continued to hope for aid from France at least, because they knew that Nicholas had fully resolved to attempt the restoration of the Bourbons and of William of Nassau by marching an army into western Europe.

The labors of the Diet at this period, and the sacrifices made by all classes of the people, were immense. Down to the 3rd of February the Diet had voted supplies to the amount of more than 67,223,873 of Polish florins, and in the course of the Revolution enough more to make the sum of 151,422,611 florins. If to this be added the amount of patriotic gifts, incidental supplies, and local equipments of troops, the grand total rises to 200,000,000 florins, or nearly twenty four millions of dollars.

When Skrzynecki assumed the chief command, the total amount of disposable forces possessed by the Poles, exclusive of garrisons, was 33,900 infantry, 10,100, cavalry, and 106 pieces of artillery. When organized anew, they consisted of four divisions of infantry and cavalry as before, the infantry comprising 45,000 men, under the generals Rybinski, Gielgud, Malachowski, and Muhlberg, — and the cavalry 14,000 men under their former commanders, Uminski, Lubinski, Strynski, and Pac. The changes in the command of the infantry were made necessary by the death of Zymirski, the advancement of Skrzynecki, the appointment of Krukowiecki to the

government of Warsaw, and a difference between Szembek and Skrzynecki as to the distribution of some decorations among the subaltern officers, which induced the former to resign, to the general regret of his countrymen.

In addition to the efforts made by the Poles at this time to place the army on a good footing, they labored indefatigably upon the fortifications of Warsaw. The army was posted in or about Warsaw for the time being, with the exception of the corps of Dwernicki, of whose operations we shall speak hereafter, and those divisions of cavalry, which patrolled the river to keep open the communication between the fortresses of Modlin and Koziencice. The citizens, male and female, were busied in widening and deepening the ditch around the city, in rendering the outer ramparts defensible against artillery, constructing a chain of lunettes around the whole, and filling the streets with barricades. So indiscriminately did all ages and both sexes, male and female, labor on those works, that one of the lunettes was called 'the lunette of the women,' from having been constructed wholly by the hands of the gentle sex.* On the

* There is no fact, which more strongly illustrates the intense feeling of the Poles on the subject of their nationality, than the conduct of their women. Their patriotic devotion was very honorably commended in one of the speeches, made on occasion of the first anniversary meeting of the Polish exiles at Paris in 1831.

'Mademoiselle Emilie *Szczaniecka* donne toute sa fortune pour la Pologne, et se fait religieuse.

'Toutes les femmes, à l'envi, ont préparé la révolution et se sont prononcées pour elle, dès qu'elle a éclaté. Elles ont fait des cocardes, des cartouches, de la charpie. Elles ont nourri le feu sacré, enflammé les courages. On a cité douze femmes qui, ayant pris un service actif, se sont distinguées dans les combats. Une a été tuée à l'assaut de Wilna, en marchant la baïonnette en avant, à la tête de l'infanterie. Deux autres ont péri comme soldats sur les champs

heights of Dynasow and Zoliborz, situated on the left or Warsaw bank of the Vistula, but commanding the whole of Praga and its approaches, batteries were placed, so as to protect equally both sides of the river.

While the events, which we have been describing, were going on near Warsaw and with the main body of the army, Dwernicki, who, as we have already mentioned, left the army with a detached corps immediately after the commencement of hostilities, had obtained extraordinary success in the duty which he undertook. This duty, it should be observed, was to intercept the march of Prince Wurtemberg upon Warsaw down the left bank of the Vistula. Dwernicki crossed the Vistula for this purpose on the 17th near Ryczynow. It appeared that Wurtemberg had crossed further up at Pulawy, after having wreaked his vandal vengeance upon the beautiful domain and residence of Prince Czartoryski. On the 18th

de bataille. D'autres encore allaient ramasser et panser les blessés ou ensevelir les morts. Elles établissaient et surveillaient des hôpitaux improvisés sous le feu de l'ennemi ; elles prodiguaient les soins, les consolations. Elles excitaient leurs maris, leurs frères, leurs fils, et raffermisaient les citoyens et les guerriers au milieu des plus grands périls.

‘ La princesse Gabrielle *Oginska*, née Plater, a été la première à susciter et à soutenir l'insurrection lithuanienne : elle a sauvé la vie à son mari par son dévouement.

‘ Madame Bernard *Potocka* a toujours suivi son mari à l'armée. Mademoiselle *Proszynska* s'est battue avec courage et a succombé.

‘ La jeune comtesse Emilie *Plater* a organisé et dirigé les paysans de ses terres, et les a conduits contre les Russes.

‘ Mademoiselle Constance *Raszanowicz*, Lithuanienne, compagne d'armes et de dangers d'Emilie *Plater*, a contribué avec elle à défendre la Lithuanie contre l'invasion russe. — Les Polonais, les Lithuaniens et les Russiens célébrant en France les premiers anniversaires de leur Révolution Nationale, p. 62.

Wurtemberg's forces began to present themselves on the plain of Ryczywol; and on the 19th Dwernicki fell upon them at a place near there called Swierza, and succeeded by a well conceived manœuvre in attacking them at the same time in flank and rear, the consequence of which was a total defeat of the Russians, who fled up the river in great disorder, and continued their flight until they had placed the Vistula between them and the victorious Poles. But Dwernicki gave the Russians no respite. He hung on their rear, continually cutting off stragglers, until they had securely posted themselves in Pulawy. He then caused Colonel Lagowski to cross the river secretly below Pulawy with a small detachment, and to attack the enemy unexpectedly on that side. The manœuvre succeeded perfectly; and the astonished Russians, although far more numerous than the whole of Dwernicki's corps, again fled in great consternation before Lagowski's handful of troops. But before he left Pulawy, Prince Wurtemberg, indulging once more in a spirit of spiteful malignity against the first of the Poles, ordered his soldiers to set fire to the town, and even wantonly discharged his cannon at the palace of Prince Czartoryski, occupied only by the Princess and her attendants, as if to show that the Muscovite barbarians made war against liberty and civilization at the same time. When Dwernicki regained possession of the once beautiful town, he found it a smoking ruin.

But the punishment due to the meanness of Prince Wurtemberg was close at hand. After being driven from Pulawy, the Russians made for Lublin, the capital of the Palatinate in which they were, by the main road through Kurow. There is another road to Lublin, a small cross road through the forest, not two miles from the other

at their widest separation. Whilst Dwernicki, with the main body of his troops, pursued Wurtemberg along the high road, he caused Lagowski to march by the nearly parallel way, with orders to keep himself constantly abreast of the enemy, and so soon as he heard the fire of cannon, to hasten across the intermediate space and attack the Russians in flank or rear as circumstances should dictate. Wurtemberg being so pressed by the Poles that he could not avoid giving battle, took a strong position at Kurow, on the 2nd of March, and thus awaited the approach of Dwernicki. The latter commenced with a fire of skirmishers only, so as to occupy the Russians until Lagowski should have time to come up. Wurtemberg fell unsuspectingly into the snare, never dreaming that Dwernicki's forces were divided, until he found himself all at once subjected to a galling fire in front and rear at the same moment. The consternation and confusion of the Russians, upon discovering how matters stood, were so complete, that they were absolutely broken up, and ceased to act as a corps. Many were killed in the charge and pursuit, many more were taken prisoners, and the rest got off as they could, but in such a panic that the mere sight of the Poles was enough to send them flying across the country in disorder. So signal was the success of Dwernicki, that, with the small force of 3,000 men, and a loss of only 500 in killed and wounded, he destroyed a corps of 15,000 men, taking 8,000 prisoners, besides 19 pieces of cannon, 1,000 horses, and a large quantity of military stores. Wurtemberg was degraded from his post by the Russian commander in chief, for his incapacity and misconduct, which had thus compelled the Russians to evacuate the Palatinate of Lublin.

While these auspicious events were transpir-

ing in the southern part of the Kingdom, under Dwernicki, there was also a small detached body of Poles acting successfully to the north of Warsaw. They were commanded by Colonel Valentin, whose orders were to hold in check the right wing of the Russians, so as to prevent them from effecting any thing below Warsaw. In case of necessity, he could receive aid from the garrison of Modlin, a fortress at the mouth of the Narew, situated in the region consigned to his operations. Valentin was quite fortunate in his enterprises in that quarter, and rendered important services to the common cause. In a large view of the relative situation of the contending armies, Valentin and Dwernicki thus occupied the extremities of the Polish line of operations, while the main body or centre of the Poles was at Warsaw.

At this crisis, and previous to recommencing hostilities, General Skrzynecki addressed a conciliatory communication to Marshal Diebitsch, making propositions of peace in behalf of the Poles, and expressing the desire of the latter to prevent the further effusion of blood, if they could obtain that, for which only they contended, the faithful performance of the promises made by Alexander to their nation. But these offers of accommodation produced no good result, and the contest was renewed with fresh determination. On the 10th of March, Generals Gielgud and Janowski were ordered to make a *reconnaissance* upon the right bank of the Vistula; but the manœuvre was not skilfully, or at least not profitably, conducted. About the same time operations on a larger scale were commenced in the region of Modlin and Pultusk. The Russian Guard under Prince Michael, which had recently arrived to the number of 20,000 to make up for some of the Russian losses was marching thither, and General

Uminski followed them with a division of cavalry, having orders to assume the command of Valentin's detachment. In a short time Uminski compelled the Guard to evacuate their position, and to retire towards the main army, leaving him in possession of Ostrolenka, where he effectually crippled all their movements. The conjuncture seemed to Skrzynecki favorable for active operations on his part, which he commenced at the end of March.

Skrzynecki ascertained that Diebitsch had withdrawn the main body of his forces to some distance, leaving only a corps of observation off against Praga, consisting of the two corps of Rosen and Geissmar, stationed in the environs of Wawr and Milosna. Upon this, the Polish generalissimo reviewed his troops, preparatory to attempting the execution of a plan for throwing himself unexpectedly with all his force on the detached corps of Rosen and Geissmar. On the evening of March 30th two divisions of infantry, under Rybinski and Gielgud, received orders to cross the bridge to Praga. The advanced guard of the Russians occupied a strong position in a forest between Wawr and Milosna, just in the rear of the scene of the great battle of Grokow. Gielgud was to occupy the principal road leading to Grokow, while Rybinski marched upon the enemy by way of Kawenzyn, so that the two divisions might make a combined attack in front and rear at the same time. Favored by a thick fog, the Poles succeeded in so placing their detachments, that, by seven o'clock on the morning of the 31st, the Russians were completely surrounded, and were driven back upon the corps of Rosen closely pursued by the Poles. A running fight took place along the old field of Grokow, and through Wawr and Milosna, the Russians being in such confus-

ion that some of their battalions fired upon each other, and two entire regiments surrendered in a body with their officers and colors, — in addition to groups of prisoners being taken in every direction.

From Milosna the road leads through a forest to Dembe-Wielke, at which place Rosen was posted with about 30,000 men and 40 field pieces. Gielgud and Rybinski having pursued the flying troops to this point, waited for the whole Polish force to come up; and in consideration of the advantageous position of the Russians, Skrzynecki, who personally arranged all the details of these operations, resolved to make an assault by cavalry under cover of twilight. Accordingly, at night fall the entire cavalry was collected and formed into columns of attack. Traversing a dyke in front of the enemy's position, they raised the hurrah, and dashed sabre in hand upon the astonished and confounded Russians. The Poles made good the hereditary glory of that unequalled cavalry, of which John Sobieski had said that, if the sky fell, they might hold it up on their lances. The effect of this surprise was a total rout of the whole of Rosen's corps. The commander himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, and a large number of his troops fell into the hands of the Poles. Thus in one day, by a series of well-executed manœuvres, the two Russian corps of Geissmar and Rosen were completely broken up, with a loss to the Poles of only 500 men in killed and wounded. These brilliant advantages were followed up so ably the next day, also, that the Russians were continually driven from every point where they attempted to rally, as far as Kaluszyn. Here night put an end to the pursuit and to the successes of the Poles, after they had captured the magazines of the enemy at Milosna, Minsk

and Kaluszyń, and subjected him to a loss of nearly 10,000 soldiers, 60 officers including two generals, 26 field pieces, 1,500 horses, and a great quantity of arms and munitions of war.

All the plans, which Diebitsch had formed for the campaign, were utterly defeated by the brilliant victory of the Poles over the corps of Geissmar and Rosen. Instead of crossing the Vistula as he contemplated, and transferring the seat of war from the right to the left bank of the river, he was compelled to strengthen himself in position at Kock, and to take measures to preserve the remains of his advanced guard from absolute destruction. In addition to losing the services of the Imperial Guard, which remained near Ostrolenka, he found it necessary to send another division under General Kreutz to support General Witt against Dwernicki in the Palatinate of Lublin. Thus after this brave general, with his handful of troops, originally 3,000 in number, had cut up the corps of Wurtemberg, the Russians thought it necessary to oppose him with a force of not less than 20,000 men under Kreutz and Witt. He continued to gain the most brilliant advantages over them, making the fortress of Zamosc his *point d'appui*, and occasionally advancing as far as Lublin and Wlodawa, where he received daily accessions of volunteers from the Russo-Polish provinces of Volhynia and Podolia.

It was at this crisis that the cause of the Poles gained strength from the breaking out of insurrection in Lithuania, one of the Russian spoils of ancient Poland. The Lithuanians, while they suffered under the tyranny of their Russian masters, had never lost their attachment to the Polish name; and at the very commencement of the Revolution, they were anxious to make a movement in concert with their brethren in Warsaw,

but were discouraged by the Dictator Chlopicki, for the reasons heretofore explained. They continued to bear the object in view; and at length their rising was forced on by the following circumstances. Many of the Lithuanian patriots were assembled in the church of Osmiany to consult upon measures of insurrection, when the doors were forced by a regiment of Cossacs, who entered and sabred part of the patriots within the church itself, making prisoners of most of the residue. Upon this the Lithuanian patriots in the vicinity armed themselves, and gave the first impulse to the ready zeal of the inhabitants. In a short time, about 2,000 Lithuanians had succeeded in driving out Russian garrisons to the number of eight or ten thousand, spreading revolt and consternation through the extensive region between the Dwina and the Niemen. Their strength was continually increased by means of the arms taken from the Russians; and thus the forces under Diebitsch were placed in the critical position of having a victorious Polish army in their front, a wasted country around them, and spreading revolt in Lithuania between them and Russia.

The danger of Diebitsch's position was greatly augmented by the next movement of the Poles. The remains of the corps of Rosen and Geissmar having been united, were stationed at Boimie, the place where a battle was fought in February. Skrzynecki planned another successful attack on these devoted troops, which took place at Igani in the same neighborhood, the 9th of April, and was one of the most brilliant victories of the whole war. The Russians lost great numbers in prisoners and killed and left the field of battle to the Poles, being saved from total ruin only by the necessity the Poles were under of suspending their operations to construct a bridge over the river

Kostrzyn, before they could concentrate all their forces.

Let us pause a moment at this point, and contemplate the progress which the Russians had thus far made. They had borne down upon the Poles two months before, with a vast army, which seemed quite sufficient to crush the insurgents. It was the colossal power and resources of the Russian Empire, brought to bear upon the little kingdom of Poland, with a population of only four millions of souls, cut off from all foreign succor, destitute even of a seaport by which they could receive arms from any friendly foreign country, and hemmed in by the Prussians and Austrians, the brother-robbers of the Russians. And yet it is undeniable that, hitherto, patriotism and the love of independence, although laboring under every disadvantage, had been constantly triumphant over brute force possessed of every advantage. Poland, although she saw her fields wasted and her towns ravaged by the Russian invaders, yet also saw the whole country covered with the Russian dead, and the wrecks of Russian squadrons and columns. One victory more and the Poles would have nothing to fear. Even now, murmurs were heard in the heart of Russia itself, among the proper subjects of the Czar, who could not patiently see the resources of the Empire squandered in the cause of oppression and tyranny in kindred Poland. At this crisis, a single act of energy on the part of either England or France, each of whom sees in Russia her most formidable enemy, — the one in Asia, the other in Europe, — would have bestowed independence on the gallant Poles, and restored their country to the post it deserves to hold in Europe, as the barrier between Russia and the western States of the Continent.

The relative strength and position of the two armies, subsequently to the battle of Igani, were such as to encourage the Poles in attempting other operations, of the same nature with those, which had recently proved so successful. Since taking the field in December, the Russians had received two reinforcements of 20,000 men, considerably less, undoubtedly, than the number they had lost. The Polish army was maintained at its original footing, of some 40,000 men, the recruits being sufficient to make up the occasional losses. After the battle of Igani, the Russians were so posted, as to be divided into four isolated bodies. The corps of Rosen and Geissmar were at Siedlce, the situation of which on the river Liewiec we described in a preceding page. The main body was extended between Lukow and Kock, that is, south of Siedlce towards the Vistula. The Imperial Guard was at Ostrolenka on the Narew, and of course beyond the Bug. Finally, the corps of Witt and Kreutz were in Lublin, far to the south of the main body. Thus we see that the Russians were stretched in a line running north and south, fronting on Warsaw, as in the beginning of the war, but with this difference, that two large detachments were separated quite widely from the main army, one at Ostrolenka and the other in the Palatinate of Lublin. The main body of the Polish army, on the other hand, was concentrated along its old line of position, on the banks of the river Liewiec, while the small detachments of Uminski and Dwernicki opposed the two extremities of the Russian line. Dwernicki was so posted that he could not be cut off, having the fortress of Zamosc to retire to in case of emergency; and yet he could at any moment act against the rear of the Russian main body, in concert with the operations of Skrzynecki in front,

so soon as any advantage should be gained over Kreutz and Witt. Seizing upon this idea, Skrzynecki made his arrangements in conformity with it, immediately after the battle of Igani.

Orders were issued to attack the corps of Kreutz and Witt without delay. To aid him in this, General Sierawski was despatched, in command of a small body of troops, to unite himself with Dwernicki; and another small corps was to be sent in the direction of Kock for the same purpose. They were to endeavor to drive the Russians into the angle formed between the river Wieprz and the Vistula, where Sierawski was to keep them in check, cut off from all communication with the mainbody by means of the Wieprz. Having accomplished this object, Dwernicki was to hold himself in readiness to join in an attack on the main Russian army, which, being thus taken in front and flank, it was calculated would yield a sure victory to the Poles. In order to facilitate the operations of Dwernicki, it was the intention of Skrzynecki to make small attacks on the Russians from to time to time in front, so as to occupy their attention, and prevent thier suspecting the object of Dwernicki's corps.

While Skrzynecki was anticipating a triumphant result from this judiciously conceived plan, all his hopes were confounded by intelligence of the defeat of Sierawski, the first reverse sustained by the Polish arms in the whole cause of the war. Instead of making his way to Dwernicki by circuitous roads so as escape observation, Sierawski marched towards Lublin, where he fell among the Russians, and was compelled to retreat across the Vistula after two unfortunate encounters with the enemy. Nothing but the skill and bravery of Sierawski preserved his corps from the destruction, to which his imprudence had

exposed it. This misfortune threatened the total overthrow of Skrzynecki's plans; but a greater was at hand.

It seems that General Dwernicki, induced, perhaps, by the prospect of insurrection in Volhynia, had left the vicinity of Zamosc, and crossed the Bug into the Russian territory, not far from where the angles of the Kingdom of Poland, of Austrian Galicia, and of Russian Volhynia meet together. Near this point the river Bug takes its origin, and thence flows north between Poland and Volhynia. A little to the eastward of this, in Volhynia, runs the small river Styr, which also flows north into the Priecz, a considerable branch of the Dnieper. The Austrian frontier is an artificial line, which strikes across in a southeasterly course from the Bug to the Styr. Dwernicki attacked and defeated a Russian corps under Rudiger, and pursued him into the small angle formed by the Austrian frontier and the river Styr, thinking to renew the attack there. But Rudiger declined the offered battle, and escaping across the Styr, began to collect forces so as to entrap Dwernicki in his own snare. The scheme was successful. When Rudiger found that Dwernicki manœuvred along the frontier, he made his appearance, and drew the latter into action, in such a position that the Polish right wing rested on the Austrian lines. In this position of the two armies, Rudiger sent a corps across the frontier, so as to pass around, and act upon the flank of the Poles; to withstand which, Dwernicki himself was obliged to withdraw his left wing and centre, and to pass into the Austrian territory in self-defence. Thus the action continued for several hours, when a detachment of Austrian cavalry came up, and obliged the combatants to separate, but suffered the Russians to return across the line into Vol-

hynia, while the Poles were disarmed and marched into the interior as prisoners. And thus, by the dishonorable and shameful interference of the Austrian authorities, the important corps of Dwer-nicki was lost to the Poles.

It was at this time that the cholera morbus, which had for many years continued its ravages in Asia, and had passed from Asia into Europe through the means of Russia, was communicated by the Russians to the Poles. It appeared among the latter subsequently to the battle of Igani, and caused them a loss of 1,000 men in the first few days; but its ravages were far more terrible in the Russian army. This fatal epidemic augmented the horrors of war beyond conception. It might have made its way into Europe, perhaps, independently of the causes to which it actually owes its introduction; but in point of fact this dreadful scourge of our times was brought upon us by Russian ambition of conquest in the East, and by Russian cupidity of empire in the West: it was by the wars of Russia with Persia and Turkey on the one hand, and with Poland on the other, that it has made its way among us from further Asia. But while thousands of the Russian and Polish soldiers sickened and died of this malady, it did not materially interrupt the progress of events. All Europe, however, began to regard the contest with a foreboding interest, in which the sympathy felt for the Poles, and apprehensions of approaching pestilence, were commingled.

Emboldened by their successes in the south, the Russians now began to think of resuming offensive operations. Indications having reached the Poles of a design to attack them in large masses, as when Diebitsch advanced upon Warsaw in December, they determined to repeat the same tactics of gradually retiring, fighting as they

went, to the vicinity of the capital. On the 25th of April occurred the combat of Kuflew, in which Diebitsch himself led nearly 40,000 men against a small force of 4,000 men only under Colonel Dembinski, without carrying their position. During the night ensuing the Poles executed a retrograde movement as they had contemplated, and awaited the enemy at Minsk. Here, on the 26th, the Poles under General Gielgud repulsed an attack of the Russians; and then retired to Dembe-Wielke, expecting a renewal of the attack. But to the surprise of all, on the night of the 28th Diebitsch evacuated his position, and retired as far as Kaluszyn, where he entrenched himself in a fortified camp, and assumed once more a defensive attitude.

Skrzynecki now resolved to attempt the execution of a plan somewhat different from that, which the reverses of Dwernicki had defeated. He first detached General Chrzanowski with a small corps to supply the place of Dwernicki. In spite of the hazards he incurred, Chrzanowski reached his destination in safety, having beaten a considerable body of Russians at Kock on the way, and also having gained a victory over another body of the enemy at Lubartow. Having accomplished his purpose in this quarter, Skrzynecki next threw himself unexpectedly upon the Imperial Guard, which we have several times mentioned as being at Ostrolenka somewhat detached from the Russian main army. He suddenly made a retrograde movement by the great road to Praga, and so down the right bank of the Vistula to Zegrz, and thence to Serock on the Narew, when he commenced his operations against the Imperial Guard, which, after a little fighting, he compelled to evacuate the Kingdom. So soon as Diebitsch discovered the nature of Skrzynecki's

manœuvre, he hastened to pursue the latter with all his forces, in order to cut off his communications with Warsaw. But such was the celerity of Skrzynecki's movements, that, in the interval between the 12th and 20th of May, he passed over a distance of more than two hundred miles, which, as six days of the period were occupied in action, made the average march for eight days not less than twenty eight miles each day. Facts like this demonstrate the extraordinary and almost unexampled efforts made by the Poles in this memorable war. The result was, that when Diebitsch reached Ostrolenka, he encountered Skrzynecki there on his return. Meanwhile a combat took place on the 24th between the advanced guard of the Russians, and a detached corps of the Poles under Lubinski near Czyzew; and on the 25th the Russians came up with the rear guard of the Polish army at Kleczkow, where an engagement took place. In each of these actions a comparatively small Polish force was able to repulse or withstand a large Russian force: for it is the remarkable feature of the contest, that, in every battle, the victorious Poles were but a handful, and the beaten Russians a host, — so much can the love of country and liberty effect against mercenary troops fighting battles in which the latter have no moral stake.

It was the same in the battle of Ostrolenka, of the 26th of May, between the two great armies under their respective generalissimos. Ostrolenka is situated on the left bank of the river Narew. The line of march pursued by Skrzynecki lay through Ostrolenka across the Narew, and so down the right bank of the river towards Praga. He had passed the river when the Russians entered the town, having partly destroyed the bridge, and having taken a position so as to

be able to subject the Russians to great loss while they were effecting the passage. This battle was one of the bloodiest and most obstinately contested of the whole war. Skrzynecki himself was in the very hottest of the fight, and while thousands were falling around him, while most of his aides were struck and his own garments pierced with balls, he escaped as if he bore a charmed life. He succeeded in arresting the Russians, who lost from 10,000 to 15,000 men in the battle; but the Poles suffered a proportionate loss. Among the latter, also, were two general officers of great merit, Kaminski and Kicki, who died in gallantly leading on a charge. After the battle the Poles continued their march undisturbed to Praga.

Soon after this time occurred the sudden decease of Marshal Diebitsch. He died at Pultusk early in the month of June. The most probable accounts of his death ascribe it to apoplexy occasioned by excess. It has been said, however, that chagrin arising from the slow progress of the Russian arms and the great losses they sustained, and the knowledge or expectation that Paskiewicz was to supersede him, hastened or produced his death. We should mention, also, that the Grand Duke Constantine died during the campaign, of disease, it is true, but still, perhaps, in consequence of the vexation and hardships occasioned by the insurrection. It has been remarked as a coincidence, singular to say the least, that the decease of Diebitsch happened suddenly upon the arrival of Count Orloff, an aide-de-camp of the Czar, at the Russian head-quarters; and that Constantine died with the same suddenness at Minsk, on Count Orloff's proceeding thither from Pultusk. After the death of Diebitsch, the provisional command of the army devolved upon General Toll, until the arrival of Paskiewicz, who

had risen to distinction in the Asiatic campaigns of the Turkish war, as Diebitsch did in the European.

CHAPTER VI.

Diplomacy.—State of Parties.—Operations in Lithuania.—Jankowski's Expedition.—Disasters in Lithuania.—Volhynia.—Paskiewicz.—The Pospolite.—War in Lower Vis-tula.—Council of War.—Dembinski.—Skrzynecki superseded.—Massacres of August.—Krukowiecki President.—Military Operations.—Siege of Warsaw.—Negociations.—Departure of the Army.—Rybinski.—Conclusion.

ADVERT we, in this interval of momentary pause in the onward march of military events, to the foreign and domestic politics of Poland.

Whatever ground the Poles may have had for expecting aid from abroad, they continued to labor in vain to obtain it. Kniaziwicz and Plater were sent to Paris at different periods; Walewski, Ielski and Niemcewicz to London; but they did not accomplish even what they might with reason and justice ask. Considerations, of whatever kind, may have existed, sufficient to deter Great Britain and France from themselves assisting the Poles; but considerations of equal strength, it would seem, bade those governments to insist upon the neutrality of Austria and Prussia. It is one of the misfortunes of Poland that she is inaccessible by sea; and probably art, as much as cupidity, induced the partitioning powers to shut her up within their own territories. Thus it happened that Austria, and especially Prussia, had it in

their power to prevent the transit of arms, money, and other supplies into Poland, although Russia received every possible facility from Prussia in this respect. We are not neutral, said the Prussians; we are only quiescent. But they were not even quiescent; for the Prussian frontier bristled with bayonets, which shut out the friends of the Poles, and furnished invaluable succor to the Russians.

Poland was anxious to engage other nations, which had been despoiled by Russia at different epochs, to make common cause with her for the restoration of their conquered provinces. Zabinski was sent to Sweden to urge her to reclaim Finland; but had effected nothing; and Wolycki went from Paris to Constantinople, to stir up the Turks and the Persians to strike their great enemy now, when his armies were employed at the other western extremity of his vast Empire, and his forces were exhausted by a protracted struggle. But however well inclined the Sultan or the tribes of the Caucasus and Persia may have been to witness the abasement of Russia, they had not courage to assail the colossus. 'I am as good a Pole as you,' said the Scraskier to Wolycki; 'nine times each day I pray God for the success of your cause; but good wishes are all we can contribute in your behalf.' Thus the Poles were obliged to continue the struggle single handed, although, independently of the universal sympathies of the world in favor of their gallant nobility of spirit, a multitude of selfish considerations would have made so many surrounding governments rejoice to witness a check, from any quarter, to the excessive aggrandisement of Russia.

Incidents transpired in Warsaw at this period, which had a very important bearing on the issue of the Revolution. The war had not gone well

of late. Enormous losses had been sustained in the course of the late expedition, without any adequate advantage in return; and in consequence of this, differences had grown up between Skrzynecki on the one side, and Uminski, Krukowiecki, and Prondzynski, three of the most able and intelligent generals in the whole service. Dissatisfied with the existing government, which Skrzynecki accused of not supporting him with sufficient energy, he proposed to the Diet a radical change in its organization.

It is to be remembered that the Government, as constituted in January, consisted of five persons. The Commander in Chief was independent of them, and not a member of the Government; but as nothing could be done without full and cordial concurrence between them, it became necessary, in practice, that Skrzynecki should have a place among them whenever he desired it, although he directed the operations of war upon his own individual responsibility. He conceived the idea of substituting instead of the Commission of five, the authority of a single person, which person would have been Czartoryski.

The plan was discussed in the Diet at his suggestion, and led to extreme irritation in that body, and among the people at large. Here sprang up the epithets of *clubists* and aristocrats, denoting a radical difference of parties, in regard to the true theory of government. After an exceedingly warm discussion, the existing form of government was sustained in the Chamber of Nuncios by a majority of eight votes. The Nuncios themselves did not allow their acts to be influenced by the feelings which this question elicited; but it sensibly affected the popularity of Skrzynecki, and unloosed the elements of party discord in the city, where the Patriotic Society was again becoming a

rallying point of popular opinion. We shall have occasion to note the deplorable effects of this in the sequel.

The progress of things now leads us to detail the important operations in Lithuania. The insurgents in that quarter, seemed to need only the presence of a small organized force of their Polish friends, to be more than a match for the Russians; and several corps were successively detached by Skrzynecki to afford the requisite assistance. A small corps under General Chlapowski started the 19th of May, and traversed the province of Bialystok triumphantly, gaining considerable advantages over bodies of Russians at Bielsk and at Narewka. A second, commanded by Colonel Sierakowski, after pursuing a division of the Imperial Guard under General Sacken, had orders to proceed onward in the direction of Lithuania. Finally General Gielgud and his division started from Lomza for the same destination on the 27th of May. Upon this hazardous service a very considerable portion of the Polish army was employed, amounting to 6,350 infantry, 1,300 horse, and 28 field pieces.

General Gielgud soon came up with Colonel Sierakowski and his corps, and they proceeded together until they overtook the Russians on the 29th, at the lake of Raygrod near the village of Graiewo. A battle ensued, in which the Poles obtained a decisive victory, after which the Russians hastily retreated by the road to Kowno. Instead of pressing the attack, Gielgud suffered General Sacken to make progress on the way to Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, while the endeavor should have been to intercept him in his march, so as to prevent the scattered corps of Russians from concentrating themselves in that important city, and suppressing the patriotic de-

signs of its inhabitants. General Gielgud committed another fault. Lithuania is bounded, on the side towards Warsaw, by the river Niemen, or Memel as it is called in a part of its course. Wilna is situated on a small branch of this river, called Wilya, which flows into the Niemen at Kowno. It so happened that the brave little corps under Chlapowski had already passed Grodno, and pushed itself forward to the tract of country between Kowno and Wilna; and had Gielgud crossed the Niemen in the direct course towards Kowno, he would have been but a day's march from Chlapowski. Instead of this he continued on to a place called Gielgudiski, thirty two miles below Wilna.

Having passed the Niemen, and entered Lithuania, Gielgud was joined by Chlapowski on the 6th of June, and the united corps marched to Zemy. Many Lithuanians rallied around the Poles on their march; and among them was the celebrated Countess Emilia Plater, who came in with a regiment of five hundred Lithuanians raised and equipped at her own expense. This young heroine was uniformly at the head of her regiment in the hottest engagements, and sacrificed every thing in her country's cause. The ancients would have raised altars to such a splendid example of female patriotism as being something divine; in the middle age knights and men at arms would have flocked to her banners from the remotest corners of Christendom, as to a crusade; but in these calculating days of political combination, when protocols alone are potent to save, the Countess Plater enjoys the melancholy honors of a glorious exile.

The Polish generals commenced operations by an attempt on Wilna. Their plan was that General Dembinski should make a *detour* so as to

attack Wilna on the other side, while Gielgud advanced in front; but from not being supported by Gielgud, Dembinski was compelled to retreat, and thus the plan failed. And by another inconceivable error, Gielgud attacked the city alone, without availing himself of the aid of Dembinski, who, at the time of the attack, instead of being permitted to cooperate in it, was marching in another direction by Gielgud's orders. The attack itself was altogether unfortunate both in conception and in execution. Gielgud, without any particular combinations favoring his object, marched up the Poles in broad day, to carry by assault the Russian centre before Wilna, the Russians being strongly posted and with three times the force of the Poles. The consequence was a repulse, which was most disastrous in its effects. Not only did the Poles sustain a severe loss; but their cause more especially suffered; for the citizens of Wilna had risen upon the Russians at the sound of the Polish cannon, and the city was filled with arrests and imprisonments after the Poles retreated. The Poles were so much dissatisfied with the conduct of Gielgud, that he was virtually superseded, the authority and responsibility, though not the name, of commander, being bestowed on Chlapowski.

Contemporaneously with the happening of these disasters, was the unfortunate expedition conducted by General Jankowski. A division of infantry under General Muhlberg left Praga on the 13th of June, to be combined with a division of cavalry, which departed from Kock the same day under General Jankowski, who was to command the united corps, — and to act in concert with General Chrzanowski against the various bodies of Russians in the direction of Lublin. General Rudiger's corps would have

been destroyed, if Jankowski had done his duty. Chrzanowski stood ready to attack the Russians; but Jankowski remained inactive and suffered them to receive reinforcements, and to pass the Wieprz unimpeded. A council of war was then called, and it was arranged that Generals Turno and Romarino should attack the enemy on one side, to be supported by Generals Jankowski and his brother in law Bukowski on the other, who were to march at the first sound of cannon. — Turno engaged the enemy vigorously, and made head against him for six hours, while Jankowski and Bukowski, in full sight and hearing of the action, remained completely inactive, by which alone the Russians escaped total destruction. Their conduct was considered a decisive indication of treason, and they were forthwith put under arrest.

This affair occasioned extraordinary excitement in Warsaw. It was supposed to have connexion with a conspiracy, detected in the city about the same time, which had for its object the liberating and arming the Russian prisoners, by whom Warsaw was to be delivered up to the enemy. The discovery of such extensive treason, pervading even the military movements of the army itself, struck the people with consternation and dismay. Their agitation yielded to a feeling of intense agony, when they received intelligence of the total prostration of their cause in Lithuania.

After the battle of Wilna defeat and disaster seemed to be the never failing accompaniments of the Polish army in Lithuania. Their line of operation, immediately subsequent to the battle, was on the rivers Swienta and Wilya, the former being a small stream which flows into the latter between Wilna and Kowno. On the 29th of June the Russians commenced an attack along the whole line of the Poles, the skirmishes being obstinate at

every point, and the Poles being compelled to abandon all their defences. The Russians continued to pursue the retreating Poles, engaged them successfully at Kosseyny, repulsed them in an attack on Schavla, and gradually entered into dispositions for cutting off their means of access to Poland. In these perilous circumstances, the Poles divided their forces into three divisions. One of them, under Chlapowski, was to make for Kowno, and endeavor to take this place by surprise, so as to reopen the communication with their own country. A second, under General Rohland, was to march upon Polonga, a port on the Baltic, where they expected to receive supplies from some French vessels cruising near that port, after which they were to ascend the Dwina, on its left bank, and to prevent the Russians from receiving supplies by way of the province of Courland. The last division, under Dembinski, was to operate on the province of Minsk* in support of the insurrection. All these were operations on the offensive, at a time when the contingency required the steadiest defensive efforts to secure the means of returning to Poland; and their result was fatal to the cause of the Poles.

Each of the subdivisions started for its destination on the 9th of July. General Rohland was followed by the whole force of the enemy; and on the 11th was attacked by them at Powenduny; and after his corps had performed prodigies of valor in sustaining the attack of so large a body of fresh and well supplied troops, they continued their march so as to arrive on the morning of the

* Minsk, here spoken of, is a province of Lithuania, having a capital of the same name. There is also a town called Minsk in the Kingdom of Poland near to Warsaw, referred to in giving an account of the operations of the Polish main army.

12th at Retow. Here they were astonished to learn that General Chlapowski had passed through that place the day before in a rapid march towards the Prussian frontier. During the battle of Powenduny he had been only four miles distant from Rohland's corps, and had been urged by his troops, who heard the firing through the whole day, to march them to the assistance of their brethren. But he refused, insisting that the Russians had inevitably destroyed the small force under Rohland, and that nothing remained for themselves but to seek refuge in Prussia, and to claim the protection of that power. They did so, and were of course disarmed and put under guard. Rohland and his troops hurried after them, hoping to overtake them before they passed the frontier and to prevent their taking this fatal step. In fact, Rohland did reach them before they had all entered Prussia, and the corps of Gielgud and Chlapowski thus had a full view of the corps of Rohland, which they were previously told by Chlapowski had been cut up by the Russians. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the Poles, or banish from their minds the conviction that their leaders were false to their country, and had betrayed them into the hands of Prussia. One of the officers, under the indignant feelings of the moment, shot Gielgud on the spot with a pistol; and, could he have been found, Chlapowski would have incurred the same fate.

General Rohland and his corps then started, in order to find some place for crossing the Niemen and returning home. On arriving at Nowe-Miasto, near Yurburg, where they intended to cross, they found the enemy's forces in camp, and so posted as to be able to dispute their further progress. The Poles then saw themselves confined between the Russians and the Prussian frontier, and in a condition utterly hopeless.

They were short of ammunition, the horses were broken down by unremitted use so as to be unfit for service, and the soldiers were exhausted by a continuance of forced marches, most of them being without covering to their feet. In these circumstances, they were under the necessity of accepting the proffered protection of the Prussian authorities; and they, too, were lost to Poland.

The rising of the patriots, also, in the provinces of Podolia, Volhynia, and the Ukraine, had completely failed, notwithstanding the courage and self devotion of Tyszkiewicz, Rzewuski, and the three families of Ielowicki, Potocki, and Sobanski. They assembled in arms, but the misfortune of Dwernicki enabled the Russians to overwhelm them with superior forces.

The disasters of the Poles in Lithuania gave new courage to the Russians, directed, as they now were, by the fresh energies of Count Paskiewicz. Their main body was concentrated upon the Narw towards Pultusk, consisting of about 60,000 men. There were detachments at Siedlce or on the way thither, under Golowin, to the number of 9,000; and beyond the Wieprz were 14,000 more under Rudiger. In taking the direction of the war, Paskiewicz had to determine whether to remain in position, or to resume offensive operations. If there was hazard in the latter course, there was also the hope of putting an end to the war; and he preferred to incur the chances of a bold, and it might be a decisive, line of operations. Relying upon the influence of Count Orloff's negotiations at Berlin, — for thither he had proceeded from Minsk, — Paskiewicz made up his mind to abandon the battle grounds which his predecessor had trod, and to transfer the seat of war to the left bank of the Vistula below Warsaw,

having assurance of the requisite supplies for his troops from the Prussians.

His intentions becoming known at Warsaw, the Poles made preparations of defence corresponding to the danger. On the 1st of July the Diet authorized the calling out of the *pospolite*, the levy of the male population capable to bear arms, calling upon the people to arm, 'In the name of God, — in the name of liberty, and of the nation placed now between life and death, — in the names of the kings and heroes, who have combatted in past times for religion and humanity, — in the name of future generations, — in the name of justice and the deliverance of Europe.' — It was proposed in the Diet to accompany the call with a law securing to the cultivators the property of the soil which they held only as tenants; and this might have produced great results*. As it proved, the levy *en masse* did not serve to affect the result of the war, or even to protract the final catastrophe. Many of the cultivators staid at home, for the approaching harvest; and there was an extreme deficiency of arms for those who actually obeyed the summons. Ineffective, however, as the call proved, it was evidence of new energy being infused into the government by the prospect of an impending crisis.

Breaking up from their quarters along the Narew on the 4th of July, the Russian army

* Individual proprietors had previously done this in regard of the peasantry on their respective estates. In the interval between the first and third partitions, the Polish nobles, of their own free will, began the legal emancipation of the cultivators, and this was completed by the charter establishing the Duchy of Warsaw, which abolished the relation of lord and serf. In 1830 the Poles were all freemen, and equal before the law, although few of the peasants were proprietors. See the statements made by Theodore Morawski, *Révue Encyclopédique*, tom. liv, p. 437.

proceeded, in the course of the four ensuing days, across the territory between the Narew and the Vistula, from Pultusk to Plock. The main body of the Poles at this time rested on Modlin, at the junction of the Narew and Vistula, having command of the Russian line of march; and the rest of the Polish army was chiefly at Iablonna and Dembe, and of course near at hand. Skrzynecki was strongly advised to attack the Russians on their way to Plock; but he did not think it prudent to do so. Paskiewicz, therefore, effected his movement upon Plock without loss; and after a brief halt continued onward to Osiek, where natural facilities existed for throwing a bridge across the Vistula. It was now too late for the Poles to think of preventing the transit; and it behoved them, in these circumstances, to cross the Vistula themselves, and advance against the Russians before these last had opportunity for choosing their own position. Chlopicki sent to Skrzynecki to advise this; but Skrzynecki still remained stationary in Modlin.

In fact, Skrzynecki had made up his mind that it was best to suffer the Russians to cross unmolested, and march on towards Warsaw, and then to engage them in pitched battle. He avowed this in confidence to the Nuncio Gostkowski. 'I have them at last,' said he; 'this movement decides the war; for, on the right bank, of what avail is it to beat them? The work is only to be done over and over.'—He considered that, in fighting on the left side side of the river, he should have the advantage of Warsaw and Modlin to stand upon, and as places of retreat if beaten:—whereas, if the Russians were beaten on that side of the river, their army must infallibly be destroyed. But the growing alarm of the inhabitants of Warsaw, and of the Diet, in view of the approach of the Russians, did not allow Skrzynecki to execute his design.

Meantime Skrzynecki proposed to attack Golowin and Rudiger, who remained insulated from the main body of the Russian army, in the direction of Biala and Lublin; and to that end he himself advanced as far as Siedlce. But as Golowin retreated before him, he saw himself under the necessity of retracing his own steps; and at the end of July the Polish army was concentrated along the left bank of the Vistula between Warsaw and Modlin, with an advance-guard on the Bzura, a small stream on which the towns of Lovicz and Sochaczew are situated, and which flows into the Vistula below Modlin.

Anxious, distrustful, agitated, the Diet resolved to appoint a committee to confer with Skrzynecki, and ascertain his ulterior designs. This commission consisted of the members of the Government, nine of the most accredited general officers, and eleven members of the Diet, all impressed with the extreme importance of the measure, as likely to be decisive on the subject of the war. General Prondzynski was prepared to denounce the Generalissimo in a written memoir; and other officers were to support him; but when the question arose upon this point, the venerable General Malachowski observed that the part belonged to history, and the present alone was matter of interest; that the authority of the Commander in Chief ought not to be impaired by criticism of his actions; and that if these required examination, he should first be deposed and then judged by a court of inquiry. Malachowski's opinion gave the color to the whole investigation.

It being determined, therefore, to consider the future only, regardless of the past, Skrzynecki explained the state of affairs. The armed force under his command about Warsaw consisted of 55,000 men, besides 4,000 men of the civic mili-

tia. They had ammunition enough for three battles, and provisions for one month's consumption, and no more. The insufficiency of the munitions of war and mouth for prolonged operations, not less than the actual strength of the army, decided the council to march upon the Russians and give battle. Skrzynecki alone opposed this; but the others insisting, he yielded, adding: 'I recoiled before the responsibility of such a movement; but since the generals think that the hour to strike is come, I go to prepare for battle; the army and its chief will not hesitate to shed the last drop of their blood at the call of their country.' This language was just, noble, and suited to the times; but it was not followed by acts. On the 23th of July the commission made report of their doings to the Diet, transmitting the formal assurance of the General in Chief that he would give battle:—upon which they resigned themselves to a false and fatal security.

The next day the army was advanced to the Bzura; but Skrzynecki remained in Warsaw.—By the 3rd of August, on the other hand, the Russians had come up as far as Lowicz. Meanwhile a despatch was received from Comte Flahaut, the French Ambassador at Berlin, counselling the Poles not to run the risk of a battle, but to wait the issue of pending negotiations. Skrzynecki called together the committee of the Diet on diplomatic affairs, and suggested the expediency of reversing the decision of the council of war; but they replied that this was impossible, and advised him to follow the instructions he had received. Still he tarried; and it was not until the 3rd of August that he repaired to Sochaczew. Then was the time to fight. In fact, Skrzynecki set the army in motion on the 4th, and the enthusiasm of the soldiers passed all bounds. They

were eager for battle. The conviction that it was their last stake was universal. Believing the Commander in Chief had come to the same conclusion, they received him on their march with reiterated shouts of applause. In such a frame of mind their impetus in the field would have been irresistible; but they were made to halt at Bolimow, while the Russians, who had forced the passage of the Bzura, retired in good order to Lowicz; and a violent exasperation against Skrzynecki spread itself in the camp and in the capital. He was deeply affected by it; but unshaken in his resolution.

The public gloom was interrupted for a brief space by the arrival of General Dembinski and his corps in safety. They had fought their way from the banks of the Wilyia, traversing four hundred miles in twenty days, in the midst of detachments of the enemy, over whom they uniformly gained advantages at every encounter. Warsaw, the citizens, the army, the whole Polish nation, discerned in this fact the treason or ineptitude of Gielgud and Chlapowski, who had criminally sacrificed the brave soldiers entrusted to their charge, in the same circumstances, which had afforded to Dembinski such a splendid triumph. His became for awhile the popular name. He was raised to the rank of general of division, and made Governor of the city; but was at last involved in the disapprobation which had settled upon Skrzynecki, by declaring himself so loudly in the latter's favor. He had an interview with Skrzynecki on the 5th, and after its close publicly expressed his complete confidence in the Commander in Chief.

And the continued inaction of Skrzynecki, notwithstanding the orders of the Diet, compelled this body to act. They appointed, on the 9th, a

deputation of Senators and Nuncios, who were invested with full power to examine the proceedings of the General in chief, and if they should see cause, to depose him and designate some one provisionally to supply his place. This deputation consisted of Prince Czartoryski, the Palatine Ostrowski, the Castellan Wezyk, Vincent Niemciowski of the Government, and the Nuncios Morawski, Swirski, Dembowski, Szlaski and Tyszkiewicz. They arrived at Bolimow early on the 10th and spent the whole day in the investigation. Each of the generals and commanding officers of corps, and even the commandants of artillery and the staff-officers, were required to give their opinion in writing on the Commander in Chief and the plans of the campaign. The majority, without impeaching his personal sentiments, were of opinion that he ought not to continue in command of the army. The commissioners then required them to designate their preferences by vote; and of 67 officers, 22 voted for Skrzynecki, and the rest were divided between Prondzynski, Dembinski, Bem, Uminski, Malachowski, and Lubinski.

Skrzynecki bore all these trials with unalterable calmness and perfect resignation; he spoke of his own motives and conduct with great frankness; and declared that he was ready to serve as a private, if he was deprived of the command. This observation made a most favorable impression upon the commissioners; but they felt compelled to depose him, and committed the chief command provisionally to Dembinski, who consented to hold it only for sixty hours, until a new commander could be duly and deliberately appointed. — Stifling all disposition to indulge in resentful feelings, Skrzynecki introduced his successor to the army, at a general review ordered for that purpose; and accepted the command of one of three corps,

into which the army was divided preparatory to entering upon offensive operations.

The commissioners having made report of their proceedings to the Diet, it was resolved to confer the appointment of Commander in Chief upon the Government. In consequence of the continued declarations of Dembinski favorable to Skrzynecki, and especially his avowing, on taking the command of the army, that he should walk in the track of his predecessor, — Dembinski was out of the question. On the 14th and 15th the Polish army retrograded, closely followed by the Russians, and the head-quarters of the former were fixed at Oltarzew, within a few miles of Warsaw. The Government had finally settled upon Prondzynski for General in chief; and Barzykowski, one of their number, repaired to the army to make known their wishes to Prondzynski. This officer was undoubtedly fully competent to the duty, and as capable, as any new man in the army could be, to take charge of its operations. He, with Chrzanowski, had been the intimate and confidential friend of Skrzynecki in the earlier part of the war; and had been eminently distinguished in it throughout all its vicissitudes. But fearful lest his active cooperation in deposing Skrzynecki might be ascribed to mercenary motives, he positively declined the command. Hereupon the Nuncio Zwierkowski was sent to the camp with three despatches. First he was to deliver to Malachowski a request that he would take the command; — next, if Malachowski refused, a *positive order* to Prondzynski to the same effect; — and, lastly, if each of them refused to act, then a commission to Lubienski. Neither of these officers would accept of the command.

Meanwhile incidents the most deeply deplorable had transpired at Warsaw. It will be

readily conceived that extreme anxiety, and proportional excitability of mind, prevailed at this time in the city, and that now, if ever, was the hour for faction to rear its head with impunity. Warsaw was filled, not merely with its own fixed population, but with multitudes of Poles from other parts of the Kingdom and from the Russo-Polish provinces, who, maddened by the recent accumulation of disasters, beginning with the prostration of their cause in Lithuania and consummated by the passage of the Russians to the left bank of the Vistula, broke out into acts of domestic violence, which stand alone in the history of the Revolution as examples of popular outrage.

Dembinski, a man of resolved spirit, being transferred from the government of the city to the temporary command of the army, had been succeeded by General Wegierski, who did not possess either the same energy, or the same perfect knowledge of the political intriguers and their plans. The *clubists* entertained the design of revolutionizing the government, displacing its present members, vesting all the powers of sovereignty, legislative and executive alike, in a dictatorship of fifteen persons, and then making a radical change in the higher ranks of the army. But there was yet another conspiracy in train, for the concentration of power in the hands of one person, which swallowed up the *clubists* and the existing administration together, and hurried on the ruin of Poland.

General Krukowiecki was one of the marked men of the Revolution. There had been some speech of him for the post of Commander in Chief at the time of Radziwill's appointment; and, from the very commencement, he himself had fixed his eye upon the supreme power as a point to be sooner or later attained. He was a man of bold temper

and vigorous character, in whom an old age of ambition had succeeded to a stormy and dissatisfied youth; who rose to rank by force of purpose, without rising equally in the esteem and confidence of his countrymen; and who reached the consummation of his wishes only in the hour of his country's downfall. 'If,' says Soltyk, 'the destinies of Poland had prospered, he would have been ready to play the part of Cromwell, without partaking his genius: — he changed with fortune, and when the hour of disaster struck, he contented himself with the part of Monk.'

When tidings came of the retreating movement of the army on the 14th of August, universal exasperation pervaded Warsaw. During the morning of the 15th, the population was in the streets, yet to appearance calm; but in the evening every thing was changed. The most alarming apprehensions acquired consistency and force from the condition of the army and the government, and the prospect of impending ruin. At four o'clock, the Patriotic Society assembled at the Ridotto, in the hall of which it had usually held its meetings, the Vice President, Czynski, occupying the chair. Many spectators were collected about the place, discussing the state of affairs, among whom might be seen a considerable number of officers of the army out of employ, acting, it is alleged, in concert with Krukowiecki. An ecclesiastic, named Pulawski, who enjoyed great credit among the members of the Society, rose to speak. He exhibited the lamentable condition of public affairs. He spoke of the army in retreat; of the dangers arising from the presence of Skrzynecki at the camp, directing the war in the name of Dembinski; of the impunity accorded to traitors, as in the case of Jankowski and his associates: — and he ended by pointing to the

Muscovite troops in full march upon Warsaw. Excited by this discourse, and by others which followed it, in which the Government were accused of concealing facts it imported the people to know, — ‘To the Palace,’ cried a thousand voices, ‘let us learn the truth.’ Czynski sought to allay the popular effervescence; and proposed the appointment of a committee to obtain the requisite information. Czynski himself, Pulawski, and two others, were accordingly chosen to communicate the complaints and desires of the Society to the Government.

They found all the members together; and Czynski painted to them the agitation of the capital, and especially the indignation felt at the alleged impunity of traitors. Czartoryski replied that the solicitude of the Government was not inferior to that of the Patriotic Society; and that the sentence of Jankowski was to be published speedily, with such other matters as were proper to satisfy the just impatience of the people: and he exhorted the committee to use their influence to calm the public irritation, and to aid the Government in maintaining order and tranquillity. The committee were somewhat satisfied by what Czartoryski said; but an altercation arose, in by-talk which ensued between Barzykowski and a member of the committee; and on the whole, they did not depart in a mood to promise well for the event. After enjoining upon the Governor of the city, Wegierski, to maintain order at all events, and by means of the bayonet if needful, the members of the Government separated, Czartoryski himself proceeding to the head-quarters of the army.

Towards ten o’clock at night, a group of some hundred persons, many of them in military dress, collected around the gate of the castle where the prisoners were confined. A scuffle ensued be-

tween them and the guards on duty, in which muskets were discharged. Thereupon a cry arose that the people had been fired upon by the guards; and the populace flocked to the castle, overpowered the soldiers, forced the prisons, and wreaked their fury on its wretched inmates. Jankowski, Bukowski, and the rest to the number of seven in all, were massacred, and their bodies suspended from the lamp-cords. Faction and mob-vengeance were now masters of the hour: thirty of the spies of the Grand Duke, confined in the prison of Wola, and two other persons in that of the Franciscans, were sacrificed in the same relentless rage of misguided patriotism. The soldiers refused to interfere. The only person, who seemed to possess authority amid the horrors of the night, was Krukowiecki. After offering his services to Niemciowski, the chief member of the Government in Czartoryski's absence, he went to the castle, clad in his uniform which he had not recently worn, and mingled in the ranks of the mob. Presently, three of the members of the Government having assembled, appointed him Governor of the city, under the idea, it would seem, that it was judicious to legalize the power which he alone possessed in fact.

The next day, less of excitement prevailed in the city, but still the violence of party rage had not wholly subsided. Men gazed on the dead bodies of the murdered prisoners, as they swung from the lamp-ropes, with no sorrow for the fact, and but qualified regret for the manner, of their execution. Blood was on their hands, and an invading army at their gates; and although no more massacres were perpetrated by wholesale, yet several other individuals were killed in the course of the day, as they happened to cross the humor of the moment. The Patriotic Society assembled,

thinking this the occasion to realise their purpose of changing the form of government; but the arrest of Czynski, and others of the leading members, broke up their complot. The Government, on the other hand, anxious to remove the chief cause of the existing anarchy, again decided to impose the command of the army on Prondzynski; and he, after conferring with Krukowiecki, consented to take it. This being accomplished, the members of the Government addressed a communication to the Diet formally resigning their power, on the ground of the late popular excesses, while conscious, at the same time, that the sole aim of their actions had invariably been the happiness and welfare of their country.

In this melancholy crisis, the friends of good order cast about for some chief possessed of sufficient determination to compress the dangerous factions, which now tyrannized over the capital; and they finally rested upon Dembinski, whose activity and boldness were undoubted, and who enjoyed the highest reputation for talents. Some would have had him seize upon the supreme power of his own hand: others wished his authority should proceed from the Diet. He himself was no wise backward to meet their wishes. Early on the 17th he rode into the city, followed by his staff and two squadrons of cavalry, accompanied by Czartoryski and Prondzynski. They proceeded to the Palace of the Government, the members of which still continued in office waiting for their successors to be appointed. Prondzynski began by resigning the post which he had accepted the day before; and in the conviction of the necessity for an energetic head, the Government immediately conferred the command upon Dembinski.

His first care was the means of assuring public tranquillity. Suspecting Krukowiecki and the

leading members of the Patriotic Society as culpable for the massacres of the 15th and 16th, he ordered the arrest of several of the latter, and was not indisposed to arrest Krukowiecki, and even Lelewel himself, who, although a member of the Government, was open to the imputation of participating in the schemes of the Patriotic Society.

The Diet had now assembled, battalions being stationed, and cannon planted, in different quarters of the city, for the preservation of public order. It was found, on sounding the members, that a majority was against investing Dembinski with the supreme power. His partisans would then have conducted him to the hall of the Diet, and have caused him to be proclaimed as chief of the state by force; but on hearing of this, several of the Nuncios declared they would shoot him down the moment he made his appearance before them for such a purpose; and the idea of placing the civil government in his hands was accordingly relinquished. The conservative party, who had supported Dembinski, now turned their thoughts towards Krukowiecki, for the same reasons which had led them to Dembinski, a conviction that the crisis demanded a man of resolute will, and a military man also, trained to energy by the habit of camps. These considerations prevailed with a majority of the Diet. In the first place, they resolved that the government should consist of a President to be elected by them, and a Vice President and six Ministers to be appointed by the President, who should possess in his sole person all the authority recently held by Czartoryski and his associates. Afterwards they proceeded to ballot, and of 110 votes 22 were given to Ladislas Ostrowski, and 88 to Krukowiecki, who was accordingly proclaimed President.

Krukowiecki's first business was to organize the government. He conferred the military authority in the capital upon Chrzanowski: the civil was entrusted to Bronikowski. Being little accustomed to civil affairs himself, he judiciously bestowed the office of Vice President on Bonaventure Niemoiowski, brother of Vincent, and himself a leading member of the Diet. To prevent the recurrence of those agitations, which irresponsible demagogues and officious journalists were continually fomenting, the Patriotic Society was closed, and the journals in their interest were placed under strict observation; for the events of the 15th had sufficiently indicated their disposition to pass the line, which divides licentiousness from liberty. As in so many other revolutions and great civil commotions, the radical party had made themselves the means, directly or indirectly, of bestowing absolute power upon one, who selected them as the first to feel the rigor of his rule.

These matters being hastily arranged, the army next demanded all the attention of the government. Pending the late extraordinary events in the capital, the war had not stood still. On the night of the 16th the Polish army had retired within the fortifications of Warsaw, and the Russians, of course, closed in upon the capital. The chief command of the army was taken from Dembinski, who did not possess the personal confidence of the President, and committed to Malachowski,—a man of probity, a brave soldier, one of Kosciuszko's men, and an officer of the Polish legions under Napoleon,—who, although at this time nearly eighty years of age, had been among the foremost in the battle fields of the present Revolution. His great age would have constituted a serious objection to his holding the chief command; but Prondzynski was made his Quarter Master, and

Krukowiecki designed to direct the operations of the army himself; so that Malachowski was only its nominal chief. A council of war was ordered for the 16th to examine the state of affairs, and decide upon ulterior measures.

The Polish army, it appeared, comprised 78,400 men in all;—of which 57,600 were at Warsaw, 6,000 in garrison at Modlin, 4,000 at Zamosc, and 3,400 at Praga; there was a partisan corps on the right bank of the Vistula of 1,400 men; and Rozycki had 6,000 men above Warsaw, on the left bank of the Vistula towards Radom, employed in observing the movements of Rudiger. The main body of the Russians before Warsaw numbered 54,000 men under Paskiewicz himself, besides a rear guard of 5,000 men commanded by Knoring. In the Palatinate of Sandomir was Rudiger with 12,000 men, Golowin before Praga with 8,000, and Kayzaroff in the Palatinate of Lublin with 10,000; and the corps of Kreutz, Rosen, and Doctoroff, amounting to 30,000 more, were ready to enter the Kingdom without delay. What, then, was to be done? Three plans were started in the council of war. Krukowiecki was for giving battle under the walls of Warsaw; Uminski proposed to send out detachments to secure means of subsistence for the army and capital; while Dembinski counselled the abandonment of the capital, and the transfer of the seat of war to Lithuania.

Krukowiecki's plan was clearly the true one; now, as when Skrzynecki commanded, a battle was the dictate of prudence, as well as necessity; for to abstain from fighting and submit to be besieged in Warsaw, or to retreat upon Lithuania, was to do that voluntarily, which it was only needful to do after losing a pitched battle. Skrzynecki had reasoned right, when he speculated upon the

consequences of a victory gained before Warsaw; and Krukowiecki might well perceive that it was the last chance for Poland. But other counsels prevailed; and it was decided to adopt Uminski's idea. Lubienski was detached upon the Palatinate of Plock with 2,300 men; Ramorino upon that of Podlachia with 20,400; and preparations were made to defend Warsaw against a siege, the troops, which covered the city, being divided into two corps under the command of Uminski and of Dembinski.

Ramorino passed the bridge of Praga the 21st of August, with orders to keep the country open for the supply of Warsaw, to fight Golowin, to prevent the Russians from constructing a bridge across the Vistula at Karczew just above Warsaw, and to stand ready to aid the capital, or to act against Rudiger, as circumstances might require. In executing these operations, Ramorino separated himself so far from Warsaw that he was unable to return to the capital in season to be of any service; and after Warsaw had fallen, he marched his corps up the Vistula, and meeting with one disaster after another, ended with taking refuge in Galicia, and laying down his arms.

Lubienski proceeded in the opposite direction, down the Vistula; and the two wings of the Polish army being thus divided so widely from the centre and each other, Paskiewicz siezed the moment to pour down his forces upon Warsaw. He gathered around the city 70,000 men and 306 pieces of artillery, with all the means of assault; but before proceeding to extremities, he sought to obtain his object by negotiations. At his invitation an interview was had, between Denneberg for the Russians, and Prondzynski for the Poles, on the 4th of September. Prondzynski declared that he had no power to treat definitely;

and Denneberg said that he could make no stipulations officially; but he gave assurances that Nicholas was disposed to redress the grievances of the Poles, forget the past, and give satisfactory guarantees for the future, except that he could make no promises for the inhabitants of the Russo-Polish provinces, who had taken up arms. Krukowiecki convoked a council of ministers, Prince Radziwill and Count Ostrowski being invited to attend, to receive Prondzyski's report; and all, with the exception of Krukowiecki and Dembinski, were of opinion that accommodation was impossible; and an answer to that effect was transmitted to the Russian outposts.

Paskiewicz could no longer delay to commence his attack on the city. Finding that the Poles were determined to fight it out to the last, he caused his army to advance, on the 6th at day-break, to the storm of the outer defences. According to the Russians themselves, it was only after a desperate and sanguinary resistance, that the enormous masses, which they successively brought up to the assault, succeeded in making themselves masters of the redoubts in their line of march, and of the outer defences, which surrounded the city, one of which was in itself a perfect fortress. But after they had proceeded thus far, and having occupied the whole day in carrying the external line of intrenchments, they found that a second line of intrenchments, and a broad moat defended by bastions, remained to be carried.

The Poles had fought this day with their accustomed resolution. There was no failure on the part of the army; for all, from Malachowski down to the meanest soldier, did their duty nobly against the mighty host of the enemy. But Krukowiecki had made up his mind that the success of the Russians, in carrying the first line, was de-

cisive of the fate of the city; and that no hope remained but in negotiations. Accordingly he sent to Paskiewicz that night to request an interview; and they met the next morning at six o'clock, and had a long conference. At ten o'clock the Diet assembled, and Prondzynski came before them, to explain, in secret session, the state of affairs. He gave a full account of the conversation between Krukowiecki and Paskiewicz, the issue of which had been a proposed capitulation on the following terms: — 1. Return under the authority of Nicholas as King of Poland, and 2. Full amnesty for all the subjects of the Kingdom of Poland, and even of Russian Poland. And to give time to consider this proposition, an armistice had been agreed upon, to last until one o'clock of the afternoon. Hereupon a long debate ensued, many different plans being started, and nothing definite settled, except that most of the speakers repelled the idea of entering into humiliating conditions. 'This,' said Bonaventure Niemoiowski, 'is not a time to discuss, but to act. We ought to invest with power whichever of the generals has faith in the future; and if fortune should so far betray us that we should be compelled to render the city, the Governor of the capital can fix the terms of capitulation. The Diet has other duties to discharge; and should in no event treat.'—'We can die,' said Roman Soltyk, 'but humble ourselves never.'—At length, the hour for resuming hostilities arrived; and amid the roar of cannon the Diet adopted two proclamations, drawn up by Godebski, one addressed to the people, another to the army, exhorting them to perseverance, — and then adjourned until four o'clock the same afternoon.

The Poles, having evacuated their first line, withdrew their pieces for the reinforcement of the second, and awaited the onset of the Russians.

Paskiewicz, as we have seen, had given the Poles a few hours' respite, for the purpose of enabling them to reflect upon the situation of affairs; and at the end of that time, he opened his fire upon the second line of intrenchments. The Russians advanced with great bravery, but they were received by men not less determined than themselves, and who were animated by the convulsive energy of despair. In this attack, it is said, Marshal Paskiewicz himself was wounded by a contusion on the left arm and breast, and obliged to quit the field, leaving General Toll to lead on the battalions to the assault. The Russians were at first repulsed; but they possessed a resource in their number which enabled them to continue the assault with fresh troops, while the unfortunate Poles had but small means of reinforcement. However, this devoted people defended every inch of ground with unshaken resolution. When the intrenchments were carried, they made a determined stand in the gardens and on the edge of the ditches around the city, so that it was already dark before the Russians had overcome the various successive obstacles, which impeded their access to the walls. Meanwhile the Russians had maintained a continual discharge of shells, some of which set fire to the suburb of Czyste, which was reduced to ashes; and a furious combat ensued under the very ramparts of the city, the Russians making repeated attempts to gain possession of the city, and being again and again repulsed at the point of the bayonet. Desperate attempts were made by the Russians to carry the barrier of Wola, the soldiers being lighted on by the burning houses of the suburbs and the numerous windmills in the environs. But here, at the close of another day of carnage, the Russians were obliged to pause to gather strength for assaulting the city at all points,

which they contemplated for the morrow. Even now, while Warsaw was, in a military point of view, in possession of the enemy, the Polish army, if beaten, yet was not conquered.

The silence of death reigned in Warsaw. The miserable Poles felt the yoke of the Muscovite again fastened upon their necks. At four o'clock the Diet had met as adjourned, and the first business before it was to act upon a message of Krukowiecki's in the following words:

'Considering that, at the moment when concord is of the very last necessity, there are men who foment discord, injure the common weal, and contribute thereby to facilitate the entrance of the enemy into the city, I think it my duty to resign the office of President of the National Government.

While the Diet was discussing this, one of the aides-de-camp of Krukowiecki came to announce that General Berg had arrived with proposals of accommodation, and to ask for instructions from the Diet; and at the same time Krukowiecki's private secretary withdrew, by his orders, the message resigning the office of President. After which, Prondzynski came in, to urge upon the Diet the impossibility of holding the city, if assaulted, and the importance of saving Warsaw from the horrors of a sack. A warm debate ensued, which ended in a vote to this effect:—

'The President of the National Government having asked in what sense to understand the 4th article of the law of the 17th of August of the current year;—

'The Presidents of the Chambers declare that the President has the right, according to decrees heretofore passed, and which correspond with that of August 17th, to enter into arrangements for terminating the war.'

This reply was despatched to the President between five and six o'clock, and the Diet separated. After a long discussion with General Berg, Krukowiecki then wrote the following letter, addressed to the Emperor:—

‘SIRE: Invested, at this moment, with the authority to speak to your imperial and royal majesty in the name of the Polish nation, I address myself, through his excellency, monseigneur the Count Paskiewicz Erivanski, to your paternal heart.

‘In submitting, without condition, to your majesty our King, the Polish nation knows that you alone can cause the past to be forgotten, and heal the deep wounds which afflict my country.

‘Warsaw, the 7th of September 1831, at 6 o’clock, P. M.
(Signed) KRUKOWIECKI, General of Infantry,
President of the National Government.’

The brave old veteran, Malachowski, came in from the field of battle between nine and ten at night, and informed the members of the Diet that, Krukowiecki having ordered a retreat upon Praga, it was impossible to continue the defence. Ostrowski immediately summoned a meeting of the Diet; and after demanding and receiving the resignation of Krukowiecki, they elected Bonaventure Niemoiowski in his place, and then proceeded to Praga. So that when Berg and Prondzynski returned from conveying Krukowiecki’s letter to Paskiewicz, they found his authority at an end, and a new government installed, which firmly refused to enter into any arrangements with the Russians. Malachowski, however, signed a military capitulation at Praga, assuring to the Poles a delay of forty eight hours for quitting the city, and the power of retiring unmolested to Modlin.

Niemoiowski had secured the archives and the government-treasure; a Polish Government, Diet, and army still existed; but the Revolution was to all political purposes at an end. The various divisions of the army, — prevented from uniting, and deprived of the *matériel* which the Russians had pledged they should have by the capitulation of Praga, — one after the other, took refuge in Prussia or Austria, to avoid submitting to the Russians, the mainbody marching by Modlin and Plock, under the final command of Rybinski; af-

ter which the garrisons of Modlin and Zamosc were obliged to capitulate. Czartoryski, Skrzynecki, Lelewel, so many brave hearts and noble spirits, abandoned the land which they had been unable to set free, and Poland was incorporated with the Russian empire. Depopulated cities, and wasted plains given up to the last excesses of resentful tyranny, alone remained, crying aloud to Heaven to avenge the long series of crimes, which have blotted out Poland from the map of Europe.

On quitting his native soil, Rybinski issued an order of the day, as a solemn protest in behalf of the nationality of Poland, uttered by its latest defenders. It is dated at the bivouac near Rypin, October 5th, 1831, in the following words:

‘The decisive moment is come. The enemy has offered us humiliating conditions, contrary to our national honor: it only remains for us to preserve our honor by rejecting them, and crossing the frontier of Prussia, there to seek an asylum. In our present situation, to continue the struggle would be to draw down increased calamities upon Poland. We lay down the arms, therefore, which we took up for the sacred cause of the independence and integrity of our country, protesting against the violence and the arbitrary acts of which we are the victims, until Europe, whose protection we claim, shall pronounce concerning our lot and that of our country. If our prayers be not heard, if justice be refused us, if kings repel us, the Almighty will avenge us, and beneath the stone, which covers the grave of Poland, will lie the independence of the nations, which have remained indifferent to our wrongs. Our blood shed in so many battles, the perseverance and the patriotism of which we have given an example, shall be a subject of admiration and of imitation for history and for posterity.

‘Soldiers, go where duty calls: we shall sacrifice every thing, but our glory, of which no human force can strip us,—and we shall await our fate with that tranquillity of soul, which the consciousness of having deserved well of our country imparts.’

It should be stated, in explanation of the long inaction of the Polish troops, which preceded the capture of Warsaw, that the two chiefs, Skrzy-

necki and Czartoryski, were misled, — shall we rather say deluded? — by the representations of foreign cabinets.* The Polish government received official advices from Count Sebastiani, by a formal messenger despatched on the 7th of July, urging the Poles not to risk a general battle with the Russians, and to temporize for the space of two months, when the cabinets of France and England would be enabled to accomplish, by means of negotiation, the national object so ardently desired by the Poles. They did wait, and the consequence was the fall of their country. ‘We relied,’ says Czartoryski, ‘on the magnanimity and

*This fact explains and justifies the manifesto issued by the Poles, contemporaneously with Rybinski’s order of the day, which is noble in its language and worthy of the cause and the occasion. After stating the necessity of laying down their arms, the Poles proceed to say : —

‘Avant de quitter cependant cette terre natale, cette terre arrosée du sang et des larmes des Polonais combattant pour leur patrie, le général en chef proteste devant Dieu et devant le monde, que tout Polonais est aussi intimement persuadé de la justice et de la sainteté de sa cause, qu’il l’a toujours été et le sera toujours ; en outre, il croit être de son devoir le plus sacré de réclamer par cet acte public, l’intervention de toutes les nations civilisées, et notamment de celles qui, au congrès de Vienne, se sont intéressées à la cause polonaise. C’est à elles que la malheureuse nation polonaise confie son sort et son existence politique, d’une si grande influence sur la civilisation et le maintien de l’équilibre en Europe.

‘Les Grecs, les Belges, et tant d’autres peuples ont toujours été, et ne peuvent cesser d’être, l’objet d’un intérêt commun de la part des souverains ; les Polonais seraient-ils les seuls auxquels leur protection devrait être refusée ? — Non, l’intérêt des nations, la conscience et la dignité des souverains ne permettent pas d’admettre cette idée. C’est donc à vous, c’est aux vœux de vos peuples que s’adresse avec confiance la noble et infortunée nation polonaise ; elle vous conjure au nom de Dieu, au nom des droits des nations, au nom de l’humanité, de lui accorder votre appui pour la conservation de ses privilèges nationaux, et pour des arrangements conformes au bien-être général et à celui de la Pologne.’

wisdom of the cabinets; trusting to them we have not availed ourselves of all the resources which were at our command, both exterior and interior. * * But for the promises of the cabinets we should have been able to strike a blow, which perhaps would have been decisive.' — Thus it was that those two powers, which, by manifesting a proper degree of indignation and firmness, might have saved Poland originally, were equally instrumental, by the same defective policy, in accelerating the final overthrow of the Poles. But we trust that they will efficaciously exert the influence they possess, in alleviating the sufferings of the Poles, after having apathetically stood by to witness their subjugation unmoved. If they do not, let the gallant Poles be persuaded that, banished as they may be from their native country, and jealously watched as they are in Europe, there is yet republican America remaining to receive, with the open arms of affectionate welcome, the exiled countrymen of Kosciuszko and Pulaski.*

In view of the fate of Poland, with all her glorious aspirations after independence, — in view of that heroic and self-sacrificing resistance of hers to the inexhaustible hordes of the Muscovite, which, all things considered, has no parallel in our day, but which has passed away unblessed, — we bow in humble submission to the power which rules the universe. It is the inscrutable decree of Providence, which has suffered the most barbarous in lineage and spirit among the Christian sovereign families to extend its empire over an hundred tribes of men, covering an ample half of Europe and Asia, — and so frequently in our time, to pour forth its Tartar legions, sending terror

* See the able and interesting essay on the 'Revolution of Poland,' in the *North American Review* for January, 1833.

and desolation into the more civilized states of central and western Europe. But in the total prostration of the Poles, there is one human ground of consolation, so beautifully expressed by the poet:

They never fail, who die
In a good cause : — the block may soak their gore ;
Their heads may sodden in the sun ; their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls ; —
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
Elapse, and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts,
Which overpower all others and conduct
The world at last to freedom.

CHAPTER -VII.

Spain.—Queen's Death.—Maria Cristina.—Public Expectations.—Law of Succession.—The Spanish Exiles.—Valdez and Mina.—Torrijos.—Remarks.

THERE is no country, of which the domestic condition and internal affairs are more misrepresented, than those of Spain. It is not merely that most of the information, which we derive from the journals of Spain itself, is of a suspicious nature, as having been subjected to the examination of the local authorities before publication and having been so qualified as to meet their views, or at any rate prepared and printed by the journalist with the terrors of the Police continually before his eyes. This cause of distrust attaches to intelligence derived from the Spanish gazettes, in common with those of other nations, which enjoy the blessing of an absolute government and a shack-

led press. Nor is it owing entirely to the jealous policy of the Spanish monarchy, which is so little disposed to court the scrutiny of foreigners, or even to admit of much examination on the part of its subjects themselves. In addition to all these causes of error, it is to be considered that our current intelligence, in regard to the affairs of Spain, is generally derived from the French and English newspapers, and consists of letters written, or purporting to be written, from persons in the Peninsula. These accounts are incorrect, exaggerated, and mendacious, to a degree of which those unacquainted with the fact can have no conception. The strange absurdities concerning the state of things in Spain, which made their appearance soon after the French Revolution of July, were a tissue of such downright falsehoods, affording a fair sample of the fact to which we refer, and illustrating the difficulty of obtaining authentic information as to passing events in Spain.

The King of Spain lost his third consort on the 17th of May 1829. Like her two predecessors, she died suddenly, in the flower of her age, without children. A treaty of marriage was very soon after entered into between Ferdinand, and his niece Maria Cristina de Borbon, daughter of Francis, King of Naples, and half sister of the Duchess of Berri, and at this time twenty three years of age. The large number of Spaniards, who are exiles in foreign lands, or, if not banished, yet are languishing at home as *impurificados*, or men laboring under civil disabilities on account of their opinions or conduct in political affairs, looked forward to the intended espousals as affording them a hope of restoration to their country, of pardon, and of readmission to the career of distinction in public service. They anticipated an act of grace and indulgence as likely to ac-

company so auspicious an event, and as being, in fact, a natural ingredient of the rejoicings and public hilarity of the nation. They conceived, also, that they had some reason to expect this from the lively and amiable character of the new Queen, and her supposed indisposition to submit to the influence of the priesthood to the same extent with her predecessor, whose life was wholly given up to rigid ascetic observance.

In another important point of view, the anticipated marriage was connected with political subjects. The Infanta Don Carlos, the eldest brother of Ferdinand and presumptive heir of the crown, was, either in reality or in supposition, the rallying point of the apostolical party. Whatever defects of character Ferdinand may possess, are traits of weakness rather than of cruelty. The bitterness of political hostility has diffused very erroneous impressions in regard to this prince. Instead of being the fierce, bigoted, brutal tyrant, which some publications have represented him to be, he is unquestionably disposed to pursue as gentle a policy, in the management of his Kingdom, as the maintenance of his authority will admit. Nothing but the opposition of the Sovereign himself has prevented the reestablishment of the Holy Office in Spain. Since the occupation of the country by the French armies in the reign of Louis XVIII, more disturbances and insurrections have arisen from the absolutists, eager to push the government on to greater violence and intolerance, than from the persecuted friends of the Constitution. At the present time, it can hardly be affirmed that a liberal party exists among the Spaniards. The sword, the scaffold, exile, the dungeon, have done their work upon the unhappy constitutionalists, until few remain upon their native soil, bold enough to move in any

scheme of reform or liberty. Their bravest and best have perished, or now waste their energies in the obscure sufferings of protracted banishment, in the heart-sickness of hope deferred; and what can be expected from the disheartened and persecuted at home, who have escaped only the worst punishment of unsuccessful rebellion?—In Spain, therefore, there is no question except between more or less liberal members of the absolutist party; and it is to the former rather than to the latter division that the wishes of the King are believed to lean, while Don Carlos favors the apostolical or ultra section of the enemies of free institutions. Of course, that portion of the Spanish nation, which deprecated the blind violence of the apostolicals, looked to the continuance of the sceptre in the hands of Ferdinand as preferable to its transfer to Carlos, and had anxiously desired the birth of a Prince of the Asturias to give succession to the elder line.

These circumstances were plainly calculated to attach interest to the arrival of Maria Cristina in Spain. Besides which, her parents, the King and Queen of the Two Sicilies, the latter herself an Infanta of Spain, were to accompany the new Queen to Madrid. They came from Naples by the South of France, and crossing the Pyrenees proceeded through Barcelona and Valencia to Madrid. Catalonia was ruled at this time with a rod of iron by the Conde de Espana, Captain General of the province, and one of the sternest agents of absolutism in Spain. The numerous individuals in Barcelona, who suffered on account of opinions, crowded around the path of the young Queen, to swell her welcome with their acclamations, promising themselves her aid in making their peace with the King. Similar gratulations attended her in other parts of her progress

onwards, and on her arrival in the court of Madrid itself, — her entire journey being one long uninterrupted ovation. The *impurificados* continued, to the last, to hope and to expect the most agreeable results from the marriage, although certainly without any very specific grounds of encouragement.

The Queen reached Aranjuez the 8th of December. She was received there by the two Infantes, Don Carlos and Don Francisco, the former of whom had authority to enter into the contract of marriage as proxy for the King. On the 11th she entered Madrid, amid all the rejoicings so peculiar to the Spanish people. The King and Queen of Naples and their daughter were attended by a brilliant cortège of the public authorities and troops from the gate of Atocha, by which they entered Madrid, to the Palace at the other extremity of the city. Ferdinand and his two brothers rode on horseback by the side of the coach which contained the young Queen, with the *manolos* of Madrid dancing the fantastic *mogiganga* before them through the principal streets, every house being ornamented with brilliant hangings suspended from the balconies, and every avenue and window full of the multitudes of admiring spectators. The contract of marriage was subscribed by the royal parties in person that evening, and the next day the religious ceremony of the *velacion* was solemnized in the convent of Atocha. Splendid illuminations, with bull fights and theatrical representations prepared for the occasion, completed the rejoicings of the inhabitants of Madrid.

Meanwhile no act of amnesty made its appearance. The Duque de Frias and some other principal grandees, who had been living under a kind of general distrust on account of their liberal opin-

ions, embraced this occasion to offer their congratulations, and to propitiate the good will of the King. It was whispered that Ferdinand himself proposed that the healing measure, which the popular sentiment called for, should be frankly accorded. He countenanced the public expectations by some unequivocal acts emanating from himself. Thus he invited the venerable and amiable Don Manuel Josef Quintana, — who, like every other ardent friend of letters, had favored the cause of the Constitution and had been since frowned upon by the court, — to write an epithalamium, and liberally recompensed the poet for his performance. But the representations of Don Francisco Tadeo Calomarde, the Minister of Grace and Justice, and delegate of the apostolical party in the cabinet, overcame the better intentions of the King, and prevented his recovering the forfeited title of *amado Fernando*, which the war of independence had consecrated. Only a few scanty favors were dealt out to individuals, who, like the Conde de Cartagena, Don Pablo Morillo, bore the stigma of royal reprobation after having served their country but too faithfully and zealously.

The promise of offspring by his Queen was hailed by Ferdinand with peculiar joy in consideration of the long disappointment of his wishes in this respect. He took occasion from the circumstance to revive the ancient constitution of the Spanish monarchy in regard to succession. When Philip of Anjou became King of Spain, among other violent changes in the institutions of the country, he saw fit to introduce the Salic law of his own family, in derogation of the rules of descent, which had elevated himself to the throne, and which had always obtained in the states of Castile. In anticipation of the possibility that

the unborn infant might prove a daughter, and that no male offspring might be granted to his prayers, Ferdinand, in the plenitude of the legislative authority of absolutism, repealed the Salic law of Philip V, and restored the rules of succession of the Gothic and Austrian lines, which devolve the descent upon females, in default of male heirs. The result justified the forethought of the King, as the child proved to be a daughter, who now, therefore, has pretensions to the crown, adverse to those of Don Carlos.

An opportunity was not long wanting, to test the stability of Ferdinand's throne. Contemporaneously with the events of the Three Days, a party of Spanish exiles in England, buoyed up by delusive expectations of receiving effective support within the Peninsula, were preparing an expedition against their country. The French Revolution came to fill them with extreme confidence of success, and incited them to redoubled exertions. They vainly imagined that Spain was ripe for revolt, and that nothing was needed but a few bold spirits to fire the train. General Mina was looked up to, on all hands, as the most suitable person to command the projected expedition; but he, it seems, had more accurate knowledge of the state of feeling in Spain, and was more capable of judging concerning it, than many of his countrymen. From the very outset, he distrusted the means possessed by them, denying that any impression could be made with such slender resources. But the ardor of General Torrijos overcame the caution of Mina; and arrangements were made to convey a ship-load of arms and munitions of war to the south of Spain, with a few patriots and a bale of proclamations, as the means of revolutionizing the Peninsula. The vigilance of the Spanish ambassador detected the plans in agitation,

and at his suggestion the arms were seized by the British government. But, relying on the effect of his own example and presence, Torrijos departed for the coast of Andalusia, in prosecution of his Quixotic enterprise.

Meantime the great body of the exiles, stimulated more and more by the progress of revolution in France, began to repair thither from all quarters, intending to enter Spain by land from that country. Mina himself yielded to the current, and accompanied his countrymen to the Pyrenees, counting, perhaps, upon the assistance, or at least upon the connivance, of the government of Louis Philippe. In Paris, a considerable number of volunteers joined the emigrants, and they received promises of aid in money and arms from the *mouvement* party in France. They gradually assembled on the Spanish frontier, partly at Bayonne at the western extremity of the Pyrenees, and partly at Perpignan, on their eastern extremity. These two French cities stand each on the principal highroad into Spain, Bayonne being the point of departure for Madrid by way of Burgos, and Perpignan for the same place by way of Barcelona. The former introduces into Navarre and Biscay, the latter into Catalonia and Aragon.—A governing *junta* was established at Bayonne preparatory to actually crossing the frontier.

At this critical moment, when the last remnant of the Spanish constitutionalists were gathered together for a final attempt to deliver their country, they had the madness to revive those deplorable party disputes, which had disgraced and degraded the patriot cause in the time of its greatest ascendancy. The *comuneros* and the *masones* had not forgotten their old quarrels. Unfortunately, also, the same insubordination of spirit,

which distinguished the constitutionalists when they were the nation, was equally to be remarked among them now they were but a feeble band of exiles. Mina, and the most eminent of the patriots either as civilians or military men, were of the party of *masones*, and, as might be expected from their ability and experience, were less confident of success than the *comuneros*, who rendered themselves objects of commiseration by their violence, and by their impetuosity amounting to rashness. The effect of all this was to deprive their efforts of that unity, without which it was clearly impossible to effect any thing useful. At the same time, it must be admitted that their whole scheme was a wild and impracticable one. The Spanish people did not desire a revolution; the fact is undeniable; and without a powerful party in the heart of the Kingdom, what had a few hundred exiles to expect in thus invading the country, but defeat to themselves, and ruin to all who should espouse their cause? And how much soever we may condemn the factious temper, which distracted the councils of the patriots, we do not believe the issue would have been different, had their conduct been ever so free from censure.

In effect, however, the consequence was that the *comuneros* proceeded to cross the frontiers in their own time and mode. It is supposed that the entire force assembled along the Pyrenees did not exceed 1000 men, of whom only about the half were Spaniards. Colonel Valdez led the first party, of 250 men, which crossed the frontier from Bayonne on the 17th of October, took possession of some villages, and dispersed a few royalist volunteers. But no person joined his standard, and he would have been speedily cut off, had not General Mina followed him in a few days with the residue of their forces, consisting of about 300 men. It

was soon ascertained that the enterprise was a desperate one; for the inhabitants carefully kept aloof, affording neither supplies nor recruits to the invaders. Mina took possession of the town of Irun, and posted his followers on the heights near Vcra, a few miles from the great road to Madrid. On the 27th a well appointed royalist force advanced to meet them. It was the advice of Mina to avoid an engagement, and maintain a guerilla warfare in the mountains; but Valdez insisted upon withstanding the royalist troops, and was accordingly defeated with great loss, and driven back into France. Mina himself saved his life by a series of hair breadth escapes, and reached France in a state of extreme wretchedness. Seeing the irretrievable discomfiture of the expedition, the French now interfered, disarmed the fugitives, and compelled them to leave the neighborhood of Spain.

During the same period, another party of the patriots had entered Spain by the opposite extremity of the Pyrenees; and were in like manner driven back without having accomplished any thing, being reduced themselves to a state of mere starvation. The same fate attended each of the invading parties. Utterly failing to arouse the people, and having no sufficient means of their own to carry on a war with the government, they only enjoyed the consolation of having tried the experiment of proffering liberty to their countrymen. The French had regarded their preparations with an eye of sympathy, if not of encouragement, so long as there was a possibility of their success. It became indispensable to disarm them, when they were become a band of desperate fugitives, capable only of keeping the frontier in confusion. In fact, perfect tranquillity was restored long before the close of the year, along the whole line of the Pyrenees.

Several months elapsed before any thing transpired to indicate the success of Torrijos in the South. At length, on the night of the 3rd of March 1831, insurrection broke out in the Isle of Leon, celebrated as the scene of the revolutionary movement of 1820, under Quiroga and Riego. The assassination of the Governor of Cadiz, in the streets of the city, was the signal for the soldiers and marines stationed in the Isle of Leon to arm in mutiny, and proclaim the Constitution. They anticipated the concurrence of the garrison and populace of Cadiz; but in this they were disappointed; for Don Vicente Quesada, the Captain General of Andalusia, hastened thither from Xerez, and assured himself of the fidelity of the garrison. In consequence of this, the insurgents were obliged to leave the Isla de Leon. They landed on the opposite coast, and marched in the direction of Tarifa, where they expected to form a junction with another party of their confederates, who were approaching from Gibraltar. Being overtaken at Bejer by the royal troops, they were put to flight or made prisoners, having scarcely attempted to make a stand; and the leading individuals among the prisoners were immediately shot as rebels taken in arms. Justly alarmed by this affair, the government organized a military commission for investigating the ramifications of any conspiracy which might exist, and bringing its participators to punishment. The events in Cadiz served no other purpose, therefore, but to fix the eyes of the police upon all persons who could be suspected of liberal views, subjecting them to infinite vexation, and adding strength at the same time to the hands of the King.

Torrijos had fixed himself at Gibraltar, where, undismayed by the result of the movement in March, he was madly engaged in projecting a new attempt at revolution. This, it was plain, could

not be tolerated by the English, consistently with good faith towards Spain. Of course, Torrijos was under the necessity of selecting some other place for his head quarters; and he resolved to proceed to Algiers. He set sail from Gibraltar in November, with his companions, fifty three in all. Instead of proceeding to Africa, they suffered themselves to be decoyed into the bay of Malaga by false assurances of a disposition on the part of the garrison to raise the constitutional flag, and were compelled, after they had disembarked, to surrender, — tried by a court martial, — and condemned to be shot, — without having struck a blow, or produced the slightest movement among the people. These misguided and unfortunate men were many of them patriots deserving of a better destiny. Beside Torrijos, himself a general officer of the highest distinction, there were Don Manuel Flores Calderon, President of the Cortes in 1823, — Don Francisco Fernandez Golfín, also an eminent member of the Cortes, — Don Juan Lopez Pinto, a colonel of artillery, — and Robert Boyd, a young Irish gentleman of good family. Their lives were idly sacrificed in a wild and hopeless undertaking.

As in Catalonia, Navarre, and Biscay, so also in Andalusia, whatever dissatisfaction the people might feel towards Ferdinand, they were evidently determined not to rush into the hazards of a new revolution, without more certain grounds of success, than the existing state of affairs in the Kingdom afforded. The emigrants appear to have been strangely ignorant of the fact, that there was no revolutionary party in Spain. Miscalculating the effect, which the French Revolution was to have in the Peninsula, Torrijos and Valdez seem to have imagined that they had only to show themselves, and patriot armies were to rise up at their

bidding. But they mistook both their own consequence, and the feelings of the nation, in supposing it so easy to shake the throne of Ferdinand. Nothing has occurred, since that period, to encourage the expectation of any material change having been effected in the government of Spain by the events of July. The decided check given to the apostolic party by the influence of Maria Cristina, and by the desire of Ferdinand to secure the succession to his daughter in exclusion of Carlos, has, to be sure, led to the exile of Calomarde and of Don Carlos, and the elevation of more liberal-minded men to power; but these incidents have no particular connexion with the Revolution of the Three Days.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Swiss Confederacy.—Constitution of the old Republic.—Its Evils and Abuses.—The French Revolution.—Act of Mediation.—Compact of 1814.—Its Public Law.—Example of Berne.—Other Cantons.—Foreign Interference.—Capitulations.—Movement in Tessino.—In other Cantons.—Hostilities in Bâle.—Constitution of Berne.—Of other Cantons.—State of Schwytz.—Proceedings of the Diet.—Neuchâtel.—Conclusion.

SINCE the Three Days, events have transpired in Switzerland, which, if they do not affect the condition of so large a population as the revolutionary movements in France, the Netherlands, and Poland, are intrinsically of considerable interest and importance, in the political history of our times. The condition of Switzerland, as a federal Republic, renders the incidents in question

peculiarly deserving of attention in America, from the analogy, in many points, between the institutions of the two countries. To understand the nature of the changes lately effected in the heart of the Helvetian mountains, it is necessary to take a political retrospect of the origin, and successive combinations, of the political rights of the confederated Cantons.

The primitive confederation was composed of the three Forest Cantons so called, Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwalden, which possess, even in our day, only a population of seventy thousand inhabitants. It was this handful of heroic mountaineers, which undertook to resist the powerful House of Austria, and which for twenty years maintained the contest for independence unaided and alone. Fifteen years after the great victory of Morgarten elapsed, before Lucerne was received into the confederacy. Zurich, Glaris, Zug, and finally Berne followed. These eight cantons, by their persevering love of liberty, and by a succession of splendid victories, signalized the name of Switzerland during the fourteenth century, and at last compelled Austria to desist from asserting her pretensions by force of arms, although it was not until the peace of Westphalia, three centuries later, that she formally recognized the national independence of the Cantons.

Thus passed the fourteenth century. During the fifteenth, the new Republic acquired strength, consistency, and allies, and began to act upon the affairs of Europe. It was at this period that the Swiss sustained their memorable contest with Charles the Rash, terminated by the battle of Morat, so fatal to the chivalry of Burgundy and Flanders. After this, Solcure, breaking loose from the German Empire, and Friburg shaking off the authority of the Dukes of Savoy, entered

the confederacy under the protection of Berne. Next Bâle and Schaffhausen joined the family of hardy republicans; and at length, in 1513, Appenzell became the thirteenth Canton, and completed the frame of the Swiss Republic as chiefly known to history. Many divisions, intestine wars, and religious disputes occurred meanwhile, which served to keep alive and confirm the military spirit of the people. Their poverty and martial temper conspired to induce those military capitulations, the first of which was concluded with France in 1479, which introduced them into the Italian wars in the capacity of mercenary auxiliaries of some foreign power, and ended in their continual employment as household troops in the service of France.

Wars of religion, intestine convulsions growing out of conflicting political pretensions, and not unfrequent connexion with or participation in the hostilities of neighboring nations, occupied the Swiss during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but not so as to prevent the general prosperity of the Republic, which gathered one increment after another from time to time. And thus matters continued down to the period of the French Revolution, which acted upon the internal condition of Switzerland not less decisively than upon that of France itself. The constitution of the Republic had now acquired full developement from the gradual progress of events; but that developement gave intensity and diffusiveness to various abuses, equally unbearable with those of countries, which were destitute alike of the claim to freedom, and of the glorious historical recollections, which hallowed the name of Switzerland. Equality of political rights, consistency of republican principle, just and equitable administration of government, all these were

scarcely better established and understood in the land of William Tell than among the neighboring monarchies.

Switzerland, at the close of the eighteenth century, consisted of the thirteen sovereign Cantons, and of various other political bodies connected in different ways with the Republic. Some were in alliance with it or its members, others were its subjects. The Valais was the only ally of the whole thirteen Cantons. Geneva, on the other hand, was the ally only of Berne and Zurich, to which it was attached by community of religious faith. The allied cities or communities had the right of sending deputies to the Diet; but they had no voice except in what concerned their particular alliances. As for the subjects of the Republic, they were ruled with a sterner authority than individual princes would have ventured to exercise over the people of their hereditary domains. The Italian bailiwicks, so called, were especially the objects of extreme tyranny and misrule. And while the connexion of the allied communities with the Republic partook so little of the nature of a national federative union, and the situation of the dependencies of the Republic was so abhorrent to all the doctrines of liberty, the picture presented by the sovereign Cantons themselves did no credit to their form of government.

Viewing the great members of the Republic with reference to each other, it would be seen that they lived in a state of hostility among themselves, almost of anarchy. Separated by their religious opinions, by diversity of interests, by variance in political principles, they presented a favorable theatre for foreign diplomacy, while the Diets had little power, and scarcely the will, to draw closer the bands of confederacy. Discon-

tent and distrust also prevailed in the bosom of each Canton, on account of the preponderance usurped by the cities over the tracts of country around them, — in fact, from the very same causes, which, in several of the principal Cantons, have produced the recent excitement. Other evils, in themselves of a less irritating nature than the last, contributed to aggravate the public uneasiness, — especially monopolies in trade, and the practice of military capitulations.

When the French Revolution broke out, its effect was electrical among the *subjects* of Switzerland. The inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud began by soliciting the interposition of their republican neighbors to free them from the tyranny of Berne, which had gradually despoiled them of all their franchises. The Directory needed only a pretext for action; and Switzerland, after being stripped of the Valteline, Geneva, and the bishopric of Bâle, was at length completely overrun by the French. Several of the Cantons made an heroic stand in vindication of their independence and power; but in vain; for the Helvetian Republic, one and indivisible, was imposed on the country by force of arms, and equality of political rights was substituted, through all Switzerland, in place of the antiquated system of the past, and its numerous abuses and anti-republican privileges. But the pretensions of the aristocracy, and the attachment of the people to federal institutions, proved the fruitful sources of disturbance, until the Act of Mediation, which emanated from the First Consul in 1803, laid the foundation of a new structure of public law. By this measure Napoleon reestablished the federal system, making the number of Cantons nineteen; he constituted each Canton internally in a manner conformable, as far as might be, to local feeling and the habits of the

country; and he gave completion to his work by proclaiming political equality and freedom of industry through the whole extent of the territory. After this, Switzerland enjoyed repose and prosperity, so long as it remained under the protection of the Emperor.

With the dissolution of the French Empire in 1814, the face of things in Switzerland was almost entirely changed. The ancient possessors of monopolies, political and commercial, sought to resume their suspended privileges: the modern possessors of equal rights endeavored to maintain their newly gotten independence. The Republic was organized anew under the auspices of the Congress of Vienna; and Switzerland became a most anomalous assemblage of every variety of political institution, from pure democracy up to monarchy itself. While the pastoral Cantons returned to the simple forms of interior administration, which belonged to them in the olden time, — and while Berne and the great Catholic Cantons were replaced in the hands of their aristocracy by the help of Austrian bayonets, — Neuchâtel, as a principality dependant on Prussia, caused a king to be one of the integral members of the Swiss confederacy. The evils of the new organization were the handywork of the Allies, and the abuses, which they reestablished in Switzerland, passed away with the result of their highly disinterested labors in France and Belgium.

We may take, as an example, the populous Canton of Berne, the largest in the confederacy, the most influential as well from long custom as from the political adroitness of the Bernois, its capital being the residence of the diplomatic body, and so in some sense the capital of Switzerland. In this Canton there was a double conflict of interests, first between the city and country depen-

dant on it, and secondly between the burgher and patrician families in the city itself. The Great or sovereign Council of Berne was composed of 299 members, of which the city, having a population of 12,000 souls, elected 200 members, whilst only 99 remained for the country, with a population of nearly 300,000 souls. Again, of the 280 families having rights of citizenship in the city of Berne, only 80 are reputed noble or patrician; and in the hands of these privileged families the public employments were concentrated; so that the 200 city members of the sovereign Council in fact represented but 80 families. The representation was renewed, not by free elections, but by an electoral committee composed of the smaller Council together with sixteen members of the Great Council, and of the twenty six members of the smaller Council, twenty two were by the rules to be noble. In practice, therefore, it happened that a majority of the grand Council was furnished by thirty privileged families of the city. In addition to all this the *Council and Sixteen*, as the committee before mentioned was denominated, enjoyed the *initiative*, and had power to confirm, suspend, or exclude the members of the Great Council.

Although the political constitution of Berne is a strong case of the abuses in question, yet others of the same nature existed in all the aristocratic Cantons, and especially in those of the Catholic faith, as Soleure, Lucerne, and Friburg. In some of the Protestant Cantons more disposition was manifested to conciliate the feelings of the rural population. In Bâle, which in point of religion is mixed, the *bourgeoisie* obstinately insisted on their exclusive rights in trade, and their monopolies, as well as their prerogatives in the public representation. In the democratic Cantons there

was less to reform, and of course less talk of reformation. As for the subjects of Switzerland, they, on the whole, had gained materially by the vicissitudes of the age, being raised from the condition of wretched dependants to that of free and sovereign Cantons. Thus it was with Vaud, Argau, Thurgau, and the Tessino.

From the year 1815 to that of 1830, no historical event of any importance occurred in Switzerland. The Republic remained in a state of unnatural and forced tranquillity, under the influence of the Holy Alliance, which, having contributed so largely towards reinstating the aristocracy in their ancient power, had unanswerable claims on their subserviency. Of course, they were not seldom called upon to manifest their grateful sense of past favors. They were required to send away the Italian emigrants, and they did it. They were required to enslave the press, and they did it. Notwithstanding the warning experience of past misfortunes, new capitulations were contracted with the King of Naples for supplying him with hired troops from the Republic. The Diet was filled with disputes, and plans of public utility were occasionally proposed, but to no purpose, until the flame of revolution burst out where it was least expected.

It was among the Italian bailiwicks of the Tessino that the work of reformation was undertaken by the people, in the month of June 1830, a month before the Revolution of the Three Days in Paris. This little Canton, therefore, deserves the credit of having commenced the task of overthrowing the structures raised by the Congress of Vienna. Some changes, it is true, had been introduced in the constitutions of Vaud and Lucerne, but they were deceptive and incomplete. But an attack of the landamman Quadri on the liberty of the press

and the public rights of the people was the signal of revolution in the Tessino, and gave the first effective impulse to the cause of political reform in Switzerland.

In July, the Diet assembled at Lucerne, and passed much time in discussing the movement of the Tessino. Every shade of opinion made its appearance, as well the unshaken republicanism of Appenzell, as the *quietism* and attachment to the existing order of things of Friburg and Zurich. But nothing came of it. The Diet left this subject to discuss the penal code of the Swiss regiments in the service of France; and at the very period when the wiseacres of the Diet were adjusting the conditions of service, the patriots of the Parisian barricades were cutting up or making prisoners the regiments themselves, and thus summarily disposing of the articles of capitulation.

The spectacle of the great events of July, seemed to fill the Swiss with a kind of stupor. Agitated as the people of Switzerland themselves were by projects and wishes of reform, they could not, for the moment, satisfy themselves what influence over their own condition the changes in France were to operate. It was plain to see, however, that liberty must gain by the shock, which the dethronement of Charles X had given to the institutions of the year 1814. Appenzell was the first to collect itself, and to speak of reforms at home; and Soleure followed in the same track. But the earliest popular meeting was among the inhabitants of Argau. There is a ruined castle, the stronghold of the counts of Lenzbourg, and once the abode of a warlike and chivalrous court, where the Swiss minnesingers of the thirteenth century came to sing at the feudal banquet. At the foot of this relic of another age the people of Argau assembled, on the 7th of September 1830, demand-

ing reforms in the popular interest. The example was infectious. Bâle, Zurich even, witnessed assemblages of the people, every where complaining of the usurpations of the cities, and claiming a national representation based on the population of the Canton, and divested of all privileges of locality or class.

Berne being, as before explained, the leading Canton, it is important to observe the progress of things there. The smaller Council began by an injurious interdiction of the Zurich Gazette, which irritated the popular party. Other measures of an impolitic nature ensued, and the people at length became roused. Petitions began to flow in from all quarters of the country, claiming the most radical changes in the whole constitution of government. They demanded the recognition of the sovereignty of the entire people, and as a consequence the abolition of the patriciate; two thirds of the representation of the country; a complete publicity in all proceedings, legislative and judicial; the participation of both Councils in the *initiative* of laws; freedom of the press; amovibility from employment, and personal guaranties: — all to be secured by a constitution submitted to the people for their sanction. It needs only thus to advert to some of the principal requisitions of the reform party among the Bernese to perceive how imperfect and faulty was the existing state of things in the Republic.

While these petitions were pouring in upon the government of Berne, other Cantons were proceeding to accomplish the changes they desired. In Saint-Gall, as in Soleure, the cantonal government anticipated the people; Thurgau and Lucerne yielded without a struggle. In Zurich an assembly of nine thousand citizens was held at Uster, who deliberated on the public grievances

in perfect order and with heads uncovered, and compelled the government to equalize the representation, and to prepare a constitution on the base of the popular rights and sovereignty. Friburg, after a while, had come to form the head-quarters of the emigrant clergy from France; and its governors endeavored, by acting in concert with those of Berne, to defeat the wishes of the people. The inhabitants of the country, finding that such was the fact, flocked to the city in great numbers; and there, acting in harmony with the untitled *bourgeois*, they made such a demonstration of their power, that the Council yielded the point, and almost unanimously decreed a revision of the constitution, which was peaceably and amicably concluded in the sequel.

December was an important month in the Cantons; for it was the season of some of the most decisive movements of the popular party. In Argau the Council had temporized so much, that the people began to doubt their sincerity; and seven or eight thousand armed peasants took possession of the city, and compelled the government to convene a constituent assembly, as in the other revolutionized Cantons. So it was in the Pays de Vaud. Some want of good faith having been manifested by the government, the peasants flocked to Lausanne, the capital, in a body, at the sound of the tocsin and upon the view of signals lighted up in Lausanne itself. Of course, their demands were acceded to by the Council without reserve or condition.

Two incidents, of an opposite nature, indicated the intentions and feelings of the Swiss in regard to foreign nations. Some of the Carlists, who had taken refuge in the Valais, sought to make their asylum the centre of political intrigues, and were compelled by the government

to respect the neutral rights and duties of the country. On the other hand a number of Italian patriots, who had fled to the Tessino to escape the penalty of disaffection to the governments of Austria or Sardinia of which they were the subjects, and who became justly obnoxious to complaint as conspirators, although conspirators in the cause of liberty, were obliged to disperse themselves among the Cantons, but not extruded from their refuge in Switzerland. It was impossible, after this, for either liberal France or servile Austria to impeach the impartiality of the Swiss.

The federal Diet assembled on the 22nd of December at Lucerne, and this time at least left no cause of complaint against its doings. It proclaimed the neutrality of Switzerland, occupied itself with the organization of a federal army to maintain that neutrality, and recognized the right of the Cantons to reconstruct their systems of internal government.

Nor was the month of January 1831 less remarkable for the events it witnessed. To begin with the affairs of Berne. The grand Council, which assembled the 6th of December, had assumed an attitude of entire hostility towards the petitioners for redress of grievances, going so far as even to refuse to acknowledge their right to petition collectively. They prepared to march troops against a part of the Bernese territory, which demanded to form a separate Canton; and the troops in fact were sent upon this duty; but they could not be persuaded to act against the people, and soon retreated, having produced no other effect but to draw the ire of the country *communes* upon the government, and to cause the peasants to organize themselves for offensive operations. Presently, the secondary burghers of the city of Berne

began to act in unison with the inhabitants of the country, against their common enemies, the patricians. When this union was formed, the Bernese oligarchy saw plainly that their hour was come, and they bent themselves to the necessity, which they could not resist. On the 13th of January 1831 the government addressed to the people a proclamation, summoning a constituent assembly according to the public wish. The convention met in May, and was occupied for the space of three months in the work assigned them, which they performed thoroughly and well. They made a radical change in the whole system of government, and reported a constitution, just, equal, and reasonable, — which equalized the representation, — secured the liberty of the press, of instruction, worship, industry, petitions, and person, — abolished the military capitulations, — and was adopted by the people in August by an overwhelming vote. Still the patricians kept aloof, refusing to take part in the government organized under the new constitution, contrary to the policy of their class in Friburg and Soleure, where the nobles wisely concluded to enter frankly into the new order of things.

We have said little of Bâle thus far; but the events, which occurred in that Canton, required to be particularly stated, because there the progress of the Revolution was attended with bloodshed. In Bâle, the rural population embraces only three fifths of the whole population; but without duly considering this fact, the country claimed, as at Zurich, two thirds of the representation. This was one subject of difference. Another was the antiquated monopolies of the city, which shackled and oppressed the industry of the country. The peasantry were somewhat warm in their representations to the city: the lat-

ter replied by military preparations, the citizens submitting to bivouac as in time of war. On the 3rd of January 1831 an assembly of 2,500 armed men was collected at Liestall, three leagues from Bâle, to discuss the public grievances. — They demanded a convention of the people, — the abolition of all exclusive privileges, — and instead of two thirds, five sevenths of the representation, that is, one in twentyone more than they had previously claimed; — and they threatened to use force in case their demands were not granted. Hereupon the citizens met in the church of Saint Martin, and after deliberation resolved to oppose force to force. The insurgents appointed a provisional government, and laid siege to the city; but they were repulsed in two sorties, and Liestall, the seat of the insurgent government, fell into the hands of the Bâlois. Had the latter consulted moderation in this crisis, all might have gone well; but they excluded the members of the provisional government from the benefits of amnesty, and thus laid the foundation of future disturbances. A new constitution, however, was formed, and adopted by a majority of the people, in the midst of the troubles in question.

In Saint-Gall and Schaffhausen the people attained their wishes, but not until they had entered the city in great numbers, as at Arau. The Grisons, the Valais, and Geneva took, apparently, little or no interest in the changes which were going on about them, until they had been consummated elsewhere, when the aristocracy of Geneva voluntarily offered concessions to the interests of the people. But the proceedings in the Canton of Schwytz, the birth-place of the country's independence, were the most curious. The small pastoral Cantons, it should be remarked, were contented with their institutions. Among them,

every thing passed as in a family, and in the patriarchal simplicity of their manners there was but little to desire or obtain in political reforms. The Canton of Schwytz consists of two portions, namely, the original country, and certain exterior districts incorporated with it in after times, the two divisions of the Canton being united only by a mere convention, and the new portion having been deprived of its rights by gradual encroachments, until it had come to be treated by the old one as composed of subjects rather than associates. On the 8th of January 4,000 citizens met at Lachen, with drums beating and colors flying, in the midst of a snow-storm, which of course they little heeded. They gave to the old country three weeks to come to terms in; and on the refusal of the Schwytzers to give way, declared themselves a separate Canton, and established a provisional government accordingly. The two parties did not commit actual hostilities, as in Bâle; but they came to no settlement.

The Diet adjourned on the 7th of May 1831, but assembled again the 4th of July. They were engaged upon several minor subjects, until the recommencement of hostilities in Bâle called for their interposition. The two governments of Bâle and Liestall went to war again in good earnest, in August. Liestall was once more taken by the Bâlois; and then retaken from the latter after a serious battle in which the Bâlois were beaten. To put an end to hostilities, the Diet, on the 7th of September, resolved to occupy the Canton of Bâle with the troops of the confederacy, not to influence or control public opinion, but to prevent the further effusion of blood.

It remains only to say a word concerning Neuchâtel. This being a Prussian possession, seemed hardly to have the same free will in regard to

reform as the other Cantons. The citizens of Neufchâtel, indeed, were contented with its political condition, because it served their interests at the present moment; but some of the dependant *communes* were proportionally dissatisfied with their situation, and for the very same reason. Finally, the latter broke out in open insurrection on the 13th of September, took possession of the arsenal, and proceeded to nominate a provisional government, demanding at the same time a constituent assembly. While the course to be adopted by the King of Prussia remained yet uncertain, the Swiss Diet occupied the Canton with the troops of the confederacy, for the sake of preserving peace, by virtue of the federal Compact, and in the way that Bâle was occupied. The King of Prussia decided, as it might have been anticipated he would, that although he was content that any reasonable changes should be made in the internal administration of Neufchâtel, yet he would not permit his paramount rights of sovereignty to be called in question.*

It may well be supposed, that these incidents could not occur without attracting the attention of Austria and Prussia, which, by propinquity of territory, by political relations, and by their anti-liberal principles of public policy, would naturally be impelled to watch with a jealous eye the progress of revolution in Switzerland. Indeed, the arming of the Cantons on the one hand, and the assemblage of Austrian troops in the Tyrol on the other, caused the question of peace or war to become a subject of official correspondence between the two countries, during the year 1832. The Diet professed to arm only as a measure of precaution and security; and such, undoubtedly, was

* See the 'Révue Encyclopédique' for July 1830 and November 1831.

the fact; for it would have been equally contrary to the settled policy of the Swiss, and incompatible with the domestic condition of the Republic, voluntarily to engage in war. Austria, also, professed pacific motives, affirming that her sole purpose was to stand ready to prevent the Republic from being overborne by foreign aggression. But there could have been little sincerity in such a pretence. What foreign power, against which Austria need arm, is disposed to interfere at present with the internal condition of Switzerland? Certainly not France. In truth, it is easy to see that Austria and Prussia are the only governments, from which Switzerland has cause to apprehend invasion; because the political changes in the Cantons are adverse to the views and policy of the cabinets of Vienna and of Berlin.

What has already been stated, explains the nature and object of the revolutionary movements in Switzerland. It is proper to add that those movements were, at a recent date, still in progress, the final result being a matter of some uncertainty. When the Diet assembled in July 1833, the most important questions before it grew out of existing changes in the Cantons, and a proposed modification of the federal Compact. The deputies from the Cantons of Lucerne, Fribourg, Soleure, Zurich, Berne, Argau, Saint-Gall, and Thurgau were under instructions to support a revision of the Compact, as also the deputies of Liestall or the rural districts of Bâle; and the population, represented by them, constitutes a majority of all the inhabitants of the Republic. The Cantons of Geneva, the Grisons, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and the exterior division of Schwytz, were also considered favorable to the measure. The Cantons of Vaud, Appenzell, Tessino, and the Valais were opposed to the re-

vision, but did not question the competency of the Diet or the validity of its doings. But several of the Cantons utterly refused to recognize the Diet. Neuschâtel did so, in obedience to the Prussian or aristocratic interest, by which it was controlled. The old Cantons of Bâle and Schwytz protested against the legality of the Diet, on account of the admission into it of the deputies from the revolutionized, and, as Bâle and Schwytz contended the rebellious, exterior districts of those two Cantons. Uri, Unterwalden, and Zug take part with Schwytz, from a nervous apprehension of change, and an aversion to the spread of free institutions, which would seem to show that these little Cantons, at present among the smallest and most insignificant in the Republic, had become wholly recreant to the manly and independent spirit, which quickened the blood of their sires, the conquerors at Morgarten, and Morat.

It has been proposed to assemble a body of delegates, separate from the Diet, to deliberate on the condition of the Cantons, and to restore the harmonious action of the Republic. This may be a judicious and appropriate measure. — If a majority of the people of the United States desired a revision of the Constitution, a convention would, of course, be the ready and regular means of attaining their object. Especially would it be so, if it happened that several of the States were in a revolutionized condition, there being two parties in each, pretty equally balanced, and at open war with each other, which respectively claimed to be the true state-government. But the friends of this proposition have absurdly enough endeavored to give it undue consequence by holding it up as the precedent of introducing into European affairs the device of a Congress of Nations as a remedy against the evils of war. If the

Swiss Cantons were now, or ever had been, independent nations, prosecuting war as such, the pretension would have some shadow of truth. But in fact, the hostilities, which have arisen in Bâle and Neufchâtel, have not been war between Canton and Canton, — which case only would afford scope for the idea of a Congress of Nations, provided the Cantons could in any view be deemed and taken to be nations, — but hostilities among the citizens of each Canton within its own limits, in short, insurrection, and that promptly repressed by the authority of the Diet.

Furthermore, it is not easy to conceive why the Count de Sellon should communicate his plans to the world as a novel and peculiarly important idea, in a large European or philanthropic sense. There is nothing strange or new in the idea of a mediatory Congress of Nations. Who has not heard of the Congresses of Vienna, Layback, Troppau, and Verona? Of the Conference of London? Of the Diet of the Germanic Confederation? Of the Holy Alliance? They are bodies familiar to all the world. How far their influence upon the general condition and permanent welfare of mankind may have been salutary, admits of question. They have contributed, undoubtedly, to the preservation of peace in several instances; in several others they have made war, where it did not previously exist, and but for them never would have existed. If perfectly disinterested, they might do much good: thus far they have been, and they continue to be, instruments of exercising infinite oppression among the smaller States of Europe.

We make no observations upon the events, which we have described, except only that the equalization of public rights in Switzerland must exercise the most favorable influence on the do-

mestic prosperity and external respectability of the Republic. Industry will now be made to flourish under the same free principles, which have fostered it in this country. The physical force of Switzerland will become attached to institutions so liberal and equal as those under consideration, and the inhabitants of the Alps will thus be rendered more capable of defending their mountain-passes against foreign aggression, and of making a stand, if need be, for the liberties of Europe.

CHAPTER IX.

Italy.—Retrospect.—Capabilities of Italy.—Napoleon.—Foreign Interferences.—Interferences.—Romagna.—Conduct of Austria.—France.—Conclusion.

‘ITALY is crushed, but her heart still beats with the love of liberty, virtue, and glory; she is chained and covered with blood, but she still knows her strength, and her future destiny; she is insulted by those for whom she has opened the way to every improvement, but she feels that she is formed to take the lead again; and Europe will know no repose till the nation, which, in the dark ages, lighted the torch of civilization with that of liberty, shall be enabled herself to enjoy the light which she created.’ These are the words of one of the most justly preeminent historians and publicists of modern Europe, who honors, in other languages and lands, the country of his ancestors; and he describes, in phraseology as true as it is energetic, the actual condition of Italy and the Italians.*

* Sismondi’s History of the Italian Republics, p 299.

After having outstripped every other country of modern times in the rapidity of its recovery from the disastrous effects of the general irruption of the Barbarians into the heart of the Roman Empire, — after redeeming, in fact, Christian Europe from the ignorance and brutality of the middle age, and becoming once again the seat of arts, literature, and refinement, — Italy became a second time the prey of the Germans, Franks, and Goths, by reason of circumstances not dissimilar to those, which enabled ancient Rome to impose her yoke upon the republics of ancient Greece. When Charles VIII invaded Italy in the fifteenth century, avowedly to assert the claims of the House of Anjou to the throne of Naples, he found a people not less brave than his own followers, nor less familiar with the art of war, although abounding in the moveable wealth and the luxuries of life, which as yet were imperfectly known to France. But the Italians were divided among themselves; their physical energies were not centralized and combined, so as to be made to act efficaciously upon a given point; the glorious Republics, which had rendered the name of Liberty once more dear upon earth, had mostly fallen into the hands of individual chiefs or particular families; and meanwhile in France, as also in Germany and Spain, the monarchical principle had risen triumphant upon the weakness of the feudal system, so as to impart unity and concentrated activity to the great States in the neighborhood of Italy. Of course, the French, having once crossed the barrier Alps, rushed from Milan to Naples almost unopposed by the inhabitants, and in a single campaign unfolded to the world the feebleness and the riches of the whole country. Neither Spain nor Germany could fail to be attracted by the example of successful invasion. Gonzalo de Cordoba soon

came, to gain the title of Great Captain by recovering Naples from the French in favor of the House of Aragon. The French and their bands of Swiss mercenaries reappeared again under Louis XII and Francis I, but not before Maximilian had marched his Austrians into the territory of Venice, and Ferdinand of Spain had seized upon Naples for his own account. Italy was now become the battle-field of the nations, which contended for the privilege of robbing her of independence and prosperity. The French and Swiss in the Milanese, — the French and Spaniards in Naples, — and French, Spaniards, Swiss, and Germans in the States of Venice, if more or less hostile to each other, were of accord in their hostility to the Italians, their common prey. It was not strange, therefore, that when the sceptres of Spain and Germany were both held by Charles V, he should acquire a fixed ascendancy in Italy, or that, after his abdication, the fairest portions of it continued to be the possessions either of the Austrian or Castilian branch of his House.

For the three centuries following that epoch, the history of Italy is the history of the transalpine nations, which had despoiled her of Naples and Lombardy. Except the free village of San Marino, the fortified summit of a mountain in Romagna, nothing remained of the once powerful Italian Republics, but Venice, Genoa, and Lucca, each of these being governed by a narrow aristocracy. Piedmont, Tuscany, Rome, and several of the smaller States, were, it is true, more or less in the hands of Italian rulers; but the Peninsula was essentially subject to the control of Spain and Austria. Well might Filicaja exclaim:

Italia, oh Italia, hapless thou,
Who didst the fatal gift of beauty gain,
A dowry fraught with never ending pain,
A seal of sorrow stamped upon thy brow !—

But if the French, by their successive invasions of Italy under Charles, Louis, and Francis, inflicted on Italy the calamities of barbarian domination, —

Vanquished or victor, still by Goths enslaved ; —

if they introduced the transalpine spoiler into the Peninsula, and so led to its long humiliation ; — yet they also were the first to open upon the Italians the dawn of recovered independence. It was, indeed, reserved for an Italian, raised by his genius to the leading-staff of conquering France, to redeem the name and fame of his country.

The less refined and cultivated races of the North have been accustomed to think and speak scornfully of the modern Italians, as corrupt, degenerate, buried in luxury and sloth, — without reflecting that their social faults, such as they are, have been imposed upon them by the combined power of ‘leagued oppressors’ beyond the Alps; and that their national virtues are all their own, their transcendant genius, the birthright as it were of the clime, — their exuberance of intellectual riches, — their force of moral impulsion, whether for good or for evil passions, alike unequalled in the brilliancy and intensity of its exhibitions. If surpassing excellence in the fine arts, — in painting, music, sculpture, — be chiefly characteristic of them at the present time, it is the vice of their position, not of their genius. Not merely in science and letters, but even in the knowledge of that sterner art of arms, which the northern nations would seem disposed to arrogate to themselves as the distinctive property of mind, there is enough to show that it needs only national institutions to restore the national glory of Italy ; for such names as Parma, Spinola, Montecuculi, and Napoleon, guiding on their conquerors to victory, beam forth on the page of history with no borrowed lustre of greatness.

Although Napoleon did not confer independence or republican institutions upon Italy, yet the political changes, wrought by him in the condition of the country, were eminently salutary. In the Kingdom of Italy, a name cherished of the people was revived, and equal rights, publicity of judicial administration, freedom of thought, and a career of national distinction, — these at least were gained by the Lombards, even if the boon of an independent Republic was withdrawn. The residue of the nation, whether as incorporated with France, or as left to constitute the Kingdom of Naples, participated in all the benefits of internal government, which the French had gained by the Revolution, and which, notwithstanding the imperial and imperious rule of Napoleon, were, for Italy as for France, an immense stride in the career of social and political improvement. But the Allies, who drove Napoleon from his throne, have painfully reconstructed the fabric of despotism, which the arms of the French had demolished, rendering the condition of the Italians of the present generation thus much worse, in that they possess the knowledge as well as memory of better institutions, and are of course the more prone to writhe under the hated yoke of Austria.

Left to themselves, the Italians would at each and every crisis of their fortunes, have worked out for themselves institutions parallel in advancement with those of the freest in Europe. Our brief retrospect has indicated this for the period prior to the year 1814 ; and every subsequent year has afforded new proofs of the fact. Various efforts of the Italians, to regain independence, have drawn the attention of the world during the last twenty years ; and the same general description applies to them all without exception.

When a people has deliberative assemblies, and a free press, and the right of meeting to discuss public affairs, it will, if oppressed, instantly have recourse to the means of redress, which such institutions afford. If it have them not, it will, as we remarked in the case of the Poles, fly for remedy to the device of secret conspiracies. The Germans prepared, by these latter means, their emancipation from the power of the French Empire ; and the Italians have but copied the example of their masters in their plans of relief from the power of the Germans. Even the association of the *Carbonari* was founded, as Mr. A. H. Everett justly remarks, under the patronage and encouragement of the allied powers, and for objects precisely similar to those, for which it is employed at this day.* But how pliant and ingenious are royal reasoners, when moving in their own exclusive interest ! That, which it was laudable and patriotic for the Italians to do in opposition to French invaders, is impious and seditious when aimed against Germans.

Occasionally, then, the Italians, — exercising the inalienable right of every people, that of changing their constitution of government at will, and expelling invaders whensoever they may, — have from time to time risen upon their oppressors, and with their unarmed and poorly combined masses changed their rulers and remodelled their public institutions. But forthwith, before they can form a government or gather the means of military defence, a neighboring power, reckoning thirty millions of subjects, and always ready to act on the offensive, marches its disciplined myriads into Piedmont, Naples, or the States of the Church, as the case may be, — and the dungeon, the scaffold, or a file of soldiers completes the tragedy of

* Everett's Europe, p. 141. See Lyman's Italy, p. 231.

Italian wrongs. Such was the course of things in 1820; such has it been since the Revolution of the Three Days. And they, who are so ready to impute cowardice or treachery to the Italians, do it with little reflection or disposition to consider the true state of the facts. Poland might defend herself long and well, for she had a disciplined native army to begin with, and to compose the nucleus of a powerful defensive force. But the armed men of Naples, Lombardy, and Romagna have been German invaders or Swiss mercenaries, not native Italians; and it is, to the Italians, the very agony of their grief, that they are given up to the Austrians bound hand and foot, the helpless victims of barbaric spoliation.

It would seem that the disastrous results of the constitutional movements of Piedmont and Naples in 1820, — when the whole South of Europe was agitated with plans of peaceful revolution, which the armed interposition of the Holy Alliance defeated, — it would seem that those results had rendered the same countries less disposed, than other parts of Italy, to renew the attempt. At any rate, when the shock of the French Revolution of July was vibrating through all Europe, it was in the States of the Church that, among the Italians, its influence was most strongly felt. Lord Byron's correspondence and journals, during his residence in Romagna, would prepare the mind to look to the Legations for revolt on the first auspicious occasion. It is unnecessary, therefore, to have recourse to the supposed agency of French emissaries to account for the recent disturbances of Italy. All the elements of combustion had long been smouldering under the surface, and the sympathetic influence of the Three Days was quite enough to blow them into flame. What the Italian patriots asked and were anxious to obtain

was not the volunteer aid of France, nor any stimulus from French prompting, but only the assurance that the cabinet of Louis Philippe would maintain the principle of non-intervention, and would maintain it actively as well as passively, above all in reference to Austria.

Insurrection began at Modena. A conspiracy had been organized in the Legations and in the neighboring States, the object of which was, of course, to substitute a confederation of Italian republics in place of the existing governments. On the 3rd of February 1831, a party of the conspirators being assembled at the house of a Modenese gentleman, named Menotti, to make arrangements for decisive action, the Police gained knowledge of it, and the house was surrounded by the military, and carried after a vigorous defence, Menotti and thirty of his associates being made prisoners. This event seemed to be a fatal blow to the success of the Modenese patriots; but meanwhile the conspirators having been more fortunate in Bologna, the people of Modena took courage, insurrection became general in Modena and Reggio, and the Duke was forced to take refuge in Mantua, a provisional government, consisting of a dictator and three consuls, having been installed in his capital.

The insurrection broke out in Bologna on the 4th of February. The Archbishop Legate was absent at Rome, taking part in the pending election of a successor to Pope Pius VII. The people compelled the Prolegate to subscribe a paper for the appointment of a provisional government, and the transfer to it of the garrison of the city; and the temporal authority of the Pope was declared to be at an end. Encouraged by the success of the rising at Bologna, the people elsewhere throughout the Legations, from Bologna

to Ancona, overpowered the military and the local authorities, and proceeded to declare themselves independent of the Papal Sec. No resistance was encountered except at Ancona, and that was rather a show of opposition than a serious reality. The first intelligence communicated to the new Pope, Gregory XVI, late the Cardinal Mauro Capellari, was of the revolt of so large a portion of the States of Church, being all north of the Appennines.

The example of Bologna and Modena was followed in Parma, with some singularities of circumstance. A deputation of the citizens waited on the Duchess, and very politely made known to her that they had no further occasion for her assistance in the government, and requested her to step into her carriage, and leave the city; which, of course, Maria Louisa was fain to do; whereupon a civic congress was convened, and a provisional government established.

On all hands, great anxiety was felt to know what course Austria and France would pursue in reference to these events. Tuscany seemed tranquil under the paternal rule of the Grand Duke; and as the Lombardo-Venetian provinces were occupied by 100,000 Austrian soldiers, there was little hope of any rising in Milan. The patriots in the Legations despatched agents to Paris to ascertain the views and purposes of the French government, in case the cabinet of Vienna should decide upon hostile operations. It is averred that they received the strongest assurances from Count Sébastiani, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the determination of his government to enforce, as well as maintain, neutrality. The language employed by the Ministers in the Chambers, then as before, was to the same effect. But at length Austria signified her determination not

to permit revolutionary movements in any part of Italy. 'Hitherto', said Metternich, 'we have allowed France to put forward the principle of non-interference, but it is time she should know that we do not recognize it as far as regards Italy. We will carry our arms wherever insurrection may extend. If this interference should bring about war, let war come! We would rather incur every chance of it, than be exposed to the risk of perishing in the midst of popular commotions'.*

The Austrians entered the Legations in March, with 20,000 men, who quickly overturned every thing which the patriots had done, restoring the functionaries of the Duke of Modena, the Duchess of Parma, and the Pope, in their respective territories, with scarcely any bloodshed, as the insurgents were in no condition to oppose a disciplined foreign army, and could not obtain aid from France. They restored the former rulers of the country thus easily; but they did not and could not restore tranquillity, or render the people contented with governors thus imposed upon them by foreigners at the point of the bayonet.

The refusal or neglect of the French government to secure to the Italian patriots the enjoyment of their rights, by resisting or punishing the interference of the Austrians, exposed Louis Philippe to the imputation of bad faith abroad as well as at home, because he had undoubtedly induced the world to suppose that he intended to sustain by force, the principle of non-intervention, as the fundamental doctrine of the foreign policy of France. But intrinsic difficulties seemed to stand in the way of doing it in the present case. It was impossible to do it without directly attacking Austria, — making war against her in form.

* Sarrans, *La Fayette et La Révolution*, tom. ii, p. 48, trans. p. 42.

Besides, to prevent the suppression of the insurrections in Italy, the French would have to march through Switzerland and Piedmont, thus violating the territory of two neutral nations, and probably provoking war with one or both of the Swiss and Sardinian governments, as well as with Austria. That is to say, France, attacking Austria in behalf of the Italians, would have given the signal of a general war throughout Europe.

Meanwhile the Pope proceeded to introduce some changes in the fiscal administration of the Roman States, useful, undoubtedly, in the main, but wholly insufficient to quiet or satisfy the discontented inhabitants. Agitation still continued to pervade the Legations, although it did not reach the rest of Italy. In the midst of the disturbances, Charles Joseph, King of Sardinia, died, to be succeeded by the Prince of Carignan, who, by some strange accident, had found himself at the head of the Piedmontese constitutional party in 1821, but who now retained none of the liberal propensities, by which he was then distinguished. The advance of the Austrian troops into Romagna filled with disquietude all those, who, desiring peace in Europe, anxiously apprehended war at every military demonstration on the part of either of the great powers; but these expectations were not realized; for the Austrian troops returned, after having accomplished their object, without giving to France time or opportunity for warlike interposition, had the disposition to undertake this existed. Nevertheless, the example of such open disregard, by Austria, of the principle of non-intervention, was not without its effect upon the King of the French.

This appeared in a measure, which nothing but the peculiar circumstances of Italy, and the peculiar relation of France towards it, could have

prompted or defended. On the 22nd of February 1832, a considerable body of French troops was disembarked at Ancona, and proceeded to take possession of the citadel, in spite of the remonstrances and opposition of the Papal authorities. It was a significant intimation to Austria that the game of intervention had two sides; and that France was not disposed to see her rule in Romagna as she did in Lombardy and Venice. Yet what could so small a force as 1500 men effect, in case of war, against the numerous army of the Austrians in upper Italy? Clearly nothing; and little else, indeed, in time of peace, except, in aiding the Pope in the preservation of order, to see at the same time that the preservation of order was not made the pretext of persecuting and tyrannizing over the people;—and then to withdraw, when the shifting lights of European policy should lead the cabinet of Louis Philippe to leave the Italians to conduct their own affairs.

What may be in store for Italy, at the present time, it is impossible to predict. Her political condition can change only with one of those great convulsions, which from time to time agitate the whole European Republic. The iron hand of Austria is too heavy upon her, for the regeneration of Italy to take place in front of such combinations of conservative influence, as now pervade and control the Peninsula, from Piedmont to Calabria. It is the darling hope, [of the Italians, to see the different States of their beautiful country united in a well devised federal league, adapted to their own situation, and built upon those principles of representative freedom, which are so nobly exemplified in the Constitution of the United States. But there is nothing, in the present aspect of affairs, to encourage expectations of the speedy attainment of so desirable a consummation.

CHAPTER X.

Germany.—Formation of the Empire.—Its Dissolution.—
 The German Confederation.—Constitutions.—Progress of
 Opinion.—Movement in Brunswick.—Saxony.—Hesse
 Cassel.—Hanover.—Meeting at Halbach.—Proceedings
 of the Diet.—Austria.—Prussia.—Conclusion.

WITHOUT purposing to enter minutely into the various complicated and copious questions, which belong to the politics of the Germanic Confederation, it is needful we should briefly explain the constitution of that great alliance, and the policy which directs its rulers, not less than the spirit which actuates its people, so far as may be pertinent to the subject of the Revolution of the Three Days.

One of the singular and remarkable devices, — shall we say tricks ? — of the sovereigns of modern Europe to invest themselves with undue authority, has been to assume the name and functions of the Roman Emperors. The dignity of *emperor*, — in the outset merely implying the post of *general*, or commander in chief, of some detached body of the forces of the Republic, who received this honorary title in consequence of a victory achieved, — having come, by the successful treason of the Cæsars, to signify the monarch or autocrat of Rome and all her subject states and kingdoms, it thus in process of time acquired a certain inherent solemnity in the estimation of the world. Being in its essence a mere badge of honor, like a civic garland, — being also a distinction conferred of free will by the governed upon the governors, the salutation of the soldiers addressed to their chief, — and whatever peculiar power subsequently at-

tached to the name being solely the result of military usurpation, — it is evident that the possession of the name, whether obtained by hereditary descent, by the voice of the soldiers or people, or by the spontaneous assumption of the holder, could not of itself confer any legitimacy of title to supreme or exclusive command. So far as the Emperor was, in fact, or by any right derived from the express or implied assent of the people of the Empire, their chief magistrate, the depositary of the common authority for the common good, his rank and his power were entitled to consideration. But when the Barbarians broke in upon the Empire, rent asunder its mighty fabric, and appropriated to themselves its disjointed fragments, it is clear that neither Hun, nor Vandal, nor Goth, nor Lombard, nor Frank, gained any exclusive claim to the name or functions of Emperor. Of course, when the great Charles, centuries after the Invasion, — having risen by his transcendent genius to exercise dominion over nearly the whole of Western Europe, ruling from the Saxon Elbe to the Spanish Ebro, — received consecration from Leo III as Emperor of the West (an. 800), this act was merely an expedient of the Bishop of Rome and the King of the Franks to give to power founded on brute force the semblance of power derived from established right. And yet such, in the unsophisticated fact, is the *title* of the German Cæsars.*

But the Roman Empire, as reconstructed by Charlemagne, was of brief duration. Twenty nine years after his death, the territory of the Empire was permanently divided by treaty into three great divisions, assigned to his grandsons Lothaire, Charles the Bald, and Louis the Germanic, children of his son Louis the Debonair. The Empire was partitioned into longitudinal sections.

* James' Life of Charlemagne.

One portion, bounded by the sea on the west, and on the east by a line running nearly north and south, from the Mediterranean, by the Rhone, the Saône, and the Meuse to the coast of Belgium, comprising part of Spain, nearly the whole of France, and part of the Netherlands, was assigned to Charles, as King of the Franks. Another portion, consisting of the entire country east of the Rhine, fell to Louis, with the title of King of Germany. The long intermediate strip, including Italy and Switzerland, and stretching up between the Rhine on one side, and the Rhone, Saône, and Meuse on the other, into the Netherlands, was conferred on Lothaire, with the title of King of Italy and Emperor. After some fluctuations in the possession of this name, and of Italy, which seems to have been considered essentially connected with it, they were both finally fixed in the German branch by the talents of the princes of the House of Saxony, who, the family of Charlemagne having become extinct, ascended the throne by right of election, Otho the Great being formally consecrated at Rome (an. 961), and assuming the title of Cæsar Augustus.

Thus, then, we have the name of Empire and Emperor established in Germany, the Empire consisting of the original Kingdom of Germany, with such accessions as it had gained from conquest or otherwise, and the Emperor being an elective prince, deriving his power from the free suffrages of the entire German people. It was in this manner that Conrad of Franconia, on the death of the last German prince of the family of Charlemagne, became King of Germany, as also, Henry of Saxony, and the three Othos. At this period the great feudatories of the Empire nominated the Emperor, and the people approved and confirmed the nomination. Thus it was that Lothaire II

was chosen Emperor in an assembly of sixty thousand persons. But at length the great princes, who at first had only nominated the Emperor to the people by whom in form he was elected, usurped to themselves the exclusive right of election, and maintained it by means of alliances and the power possessed by them in virtue of their feudal or ecclesiastical rank; — leaving, meanwhile, ample power in other respects in the hands of the Diet of the Empire, the successor of the celebrated camp-assemblies of the ancient Germans. And in the course of that process of disorganization, explained in the introductory pages of this work, the Electors, the great lay and ecclesiastical Barons, and the Free Cities, proceeded from one act to another of encroachment upon the authority of the Emperor, until, from being simple subjects or feudatories, they became independent sovereigns in most of the attributes of sovereignty, and thus converted the German Empire into a great confederacy, instead of a common monarchy.

Meanwhile, the Lotharingian Kingdom had disappeared, being absorbed in France and Germany; and of the Empire of Charlemagne there remained, at the epoch of the existing system of European politics, only two grand subdivisions, which, starting from the same point of origin, and with precisely similar institutions, arrived at entirely different ends. In France, the principle of hereditary succession gained footing earlier, and the policy or good fortune of her princes brought about the extinction of the great feudal principalities, and gathered up all the scattered elements of power into the hands of the sovereign. In Germany, on the contrary, the form, and much of the substance, of an elective monarchy subsisted for a long period, and the great feudatories, instead of becoming merged in the imperial sovereignty,

maintained their feudal rank to the last, or raised themselves into independent princes and kings. The Emperor of Germany had the preeminence of honor among all the sovereigns of Christendom; but, as Emperor, he possessed neither treasure, domains, nor power; — his might in the scale of Europe belonging to him only as the honorary head of the great German Republic.

At length, however, in the fifteenth century, when the monarchical principle was becoming the predominant one in all Europe, and the subdivision of power, which distinguished the feudal age, was giving place to its centralization in the hands of national sovereigns, the House of Austria gained possession of the imperial crown. The dignity of Emperor was united with the solid power exercised by one of the great princes of the Empire, who had intrinsic means of aggrandisement, and was prompt to use them for his personal advantage. Frederic, Maximilian, and Charles V effectually employed their influence and power to fix the Empire in their family; and there it continued, under the forms of election, and with brief and imperfect interruptions, down to the time of the French Revolution. *

And while the Emperor was a sovereign prince in his own person, he had ample possessions, which composed no part of the Empire. The Elector of Brandenburg, raised to be King of Prussia, had States in the same situation; as also had the Elector of Hanover, become King of Great Britain. It is impossible to conceive of a confederation, composed of more discordant elements. It was, in fact, a living picture of the old feudal kingdoms, in which one independent king was the vassal of another by virtue of some foreign fief, and in which the barons levied formal war

*Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch.49; Robertson's *Charles V.*

upon each other and their common suzerain; and such hostilities occurred so frequently, that all the pride and interests of nationality gradually grew up in the great fragments of the Empire. The Germans, like the Italians, although one in name, and substantially one in language,—although nominally governed in the last resort by their elected Emperor as the executive, and the Diet of Ratisbon as the legislative, authorities of the Empire,—had utterly ceased to possess that unity of political being, which belonged to the subjects of Louis the Germanic or Otho the Great.

The French Revolution swept away the whole organization of the Germanic Empire. The Emperor Francis renounced the title of Emperor of Germany, and assumed that of Emperor of Austria. Bishops were deprived of their secular power, sovereign princes were mediatized, free cities were subjected to the general laws of the land, villenage was abolished,—in short, so many antiquated abuses, relics of feudal barbarism, and contrivances for sacrificing the good of the many to the benefit of the few, vanished, like spirits of darkness at cock-crow, before the victorious march of the Gauls. Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, exalted into Kingdoms by Napoleon, formed, with the smaller States around them, the Confederation of the Rhine, as closely associated with France as the German Confederacy had been with Austria.

But Napoleon fell, and with him, of course, the Confederation of the Rhine. The recombination of Germany was one of the pressing objects of attention at the Congress of Vienna. While the smaller States, the free cities, the secularized bishops, and the mediatized nobles, were clamorous for the restitution of their old privileges, and the new Kingdoms of the Rhine were

anxious to maintain their independence and territorial integrity, — the great powers, Austria, Prussia, and Hanover, were solicitous to regain their former ascendancy over all Germany, so as to use it in the interest of monarchy and the oppression of popular rights. Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain, taking advantage of circumstances, permitted Bavaria and Wurtemberg to meet with them in congress to deliberate, but refused to permit the direct participation of the other German States in the pending deliberation; and the latter accordingly formed an association of their own, having the countenance, at the same time, of Bavaria and Wurtemberg. The parties came to no conclusion; and a serious conflict seemed impending between them; when the apparition of Napoleon in France put to flight the selfish projects of the greater States, which promptly invited the concurrence of the smaller ones in the discussion of their common interests, and the present Confederation was hastily formed amid the final struggle with France.

The Confederacy consists of thirty eight States. Of these, five, Austria, Prussia, Great Britain for Hanover, Denmark for Holstein and Lauenberg, and the Netherlands for Luxemburg, having possessions independent of Germany, entered into the league with views and feelings, which were by no means exclusively, or for the chief part, German. Four of the members are the free cities of Lubec, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburg. The residue are sovereign princes under various names, and purely German, including the three Kingdoms of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony. The professed object of the Confederacy is 'to maintain the security of Germany from within and without, and the independence and inviolability of the several States.' Such

being the purpose of the confederates, they constructed a union of States, not of men; its Diet is a congress of the plenipotentiaries of princes, not an assembly of the representatives of the people; — and its laws attach to governments, not to individuals. Of course, the Diet itself has no ordinary and legitimate means, but force, to give effect to its decrees within the limits of any of the States of the Confederacy.

Practically, the working of the Confederacy has proved it to be nothing more nor less than a complicated machine for imposing the policy and interests of Austria and Prussia upon all the rest of Germany. England, whilst at home she is the champion of representative freedom, is the champion of Asiatic despotism in her colonies, and of European absolutism in Germany. The Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Duke of Baden, have usually manifested a liberal spirit in their domestic policy, and an independent one in their foreign relations: — the King of Hanover truckles on all occasions to Austria and Prussia. If Austria, by force or corruption, was able to obtain such overwhelming influence in the German Empire, even when she and Prussia were actuated by hostile interests, it will be readily conceived how potent is their united authority in the present Confederacy.*

The Diet has been occupied, at different times, in four great objects, the organization of a federal army, the regulation of river-navigation, the commercial intercourse of the States, and the suppression of political inquiry and reform. This last topic only is material to be considered here.

When the Allies sought to rouse the men of Germany against Napoleon, it was by calling into play the popular energies, by appealing to the

* Dwight's Travels in the North of Germany, p. 29.

patriotism and enthusiasm of masses, by organizing secret societies; and, as a reward for exertion, promising to the people the concession of representative constitutions. Austria and Prussia, not less than the smaller States, were distinctly and in the strongest terms pledged to this by every principle of gratitude and honor. Accordingly one of the articles of the German Confederation declares, that 'In ALL the confederate States, a representative constitution will have place'. The words employed, *landständische Verfassung*, which signify literally 'states-of-the-country constitution', have furnished to Austria and Prussia room for a petty evasion of their solemn engagements. For, although the word *landstände* is used in Germany to designate the representative body, provided for by the new constitutions of those States, which have fulfilled the bargains stipulated by the princes with their people in their utmost need,—yet it is also used to denote the provincial states, handed down from feudal times. Austria, for instance, will assemble the provincial states to register the Emperor's financial edicts; and this she pretends to call a 'constitution of the states of the country'. *

But the rulers of the smaller States either saw the necessity of identifying their interests with those of their subjects, or really felt and acted upon the principles of public justice. The Constitution of Bavaria was published in 1818, that of Baden in 1819, each of these being in form a grant of the government, and each providing for a legislative assembly of two houses, one of which is popular and elective. The Constitution of Wurtemberg, also published in 1819, is

* Everett's Europe, p. 163; Russell's Tour in Germany, p. 62.

equally the result of free will on the part of the King, but is in the form of a compact between him and his subjects. Several others of the lesser princes pursued this laudable example, giving to their subjects liberal constitutions, with a public deliberative assembly. Hanover, also, had its legislative body; but, in accordance with the German policy of England in other respects, its sittings were held with closed doors, and it possessed no effective influence in the political affairs of the Kingdom.

At this period happened two sets of incidents, one within and one without Germany, which had a very important bearing upon the question of political reform. Within Germany was the murder of the poet Kotzebue by Sand, a theological student of Jena, in punishment of Kotzebue's efforts as a writer to ridicule and put down liberal opinions. In Germany, as elsewhere on the continent of Europe at the present day, a love of political freedom is characteristic of the universities, and other places of higher education. The young men, collected at such institutions, enthusiastic and ardent as of course, and mutually stimulating each other's devotion to liberal ideas, are the apostles, as it were, of the great mission of the rights of man. An assembly of the students of Jená at Wartburg in October 1817, to celebrate the anniversary of the Reformation and of the battle of Leipzig, attracted public attention to the whole subject, being seized hold of by the anti-reforming sovereigns as indicative of a general conspiracy among the students, dangerous to the safety of the governments. The sovereigns might well apprehend this, false as they had been to their promises in respect of constitutional representation; and their fears were prompted by the guilty consciousness of their injustice.

Unfortunately, the act of Sand gave them a fair occasion to adopt measures of coercion to check the revolutionary spirit of the universities, and was a capital topic to dwell upon, as illustrative of the pretended political licentiousness abroad among the people. So many prosecutions and imprisonments ensued, in consequence of the alleged conspiracy, that the adherents of absolutism became for awhile lords of the ascendant. Public opinion, acting upon public apprehension of disorders, seemed in a certain degree to sustain and encourage the liberticide principles and projects of the sovereigns.*

Close upon this came the revolutionary incidents of Spain, Naples, and Piedmont, which brought into clear light the policy and nature of the Holy Alliance. While Austria was marching armies into Italy in order to extinguish the light of liberty in foreign countries, countries totally independent of her, it was not to be supposed that she or her co-worker Prussia would fail to extend their parental care over the confederate States of Germany. The crusade, undertaken by them against Naples and Piedmont, was unsparingly waged, also, on the banks of the Rhine, the Mayne, and the Elbe. In the anticipation of the effect of free discussion upon the security of their thrones, the great powers resolved to make the Diet the instrument of enslaving the press and the universities together, the spread of knowledge being what they especially dreaded. Accordingly, an assembly of ministers at Carlsbad arranged the measures to be adopted; their resolutions were proposed to the Diet at Frankfurt by the Austrian minister, who is perpetual President of that body; and the Diet, which had

* Dwight's Travels in the North of Germany, p. 90
Russell's Tour in Germany, p. 120.

spent four years in doing nothing, swallowed the whole prescribed dose at a sitting, with a docility worthy of the parliaments of Louis XIV.

By these acts the Diet established an inspection of the universities, a censorship of the press, and a central tribunal at Mentz for the trial of political offenders, — all in the aim to crush the spirit of liberty in the German mind. An enginery was thus provided for effecting the suppression of liberal newspapers, — preventing the publication of matter obnoxious to the censure of the good sovereigns of Prussia and Austria, — rooting out from the universities all persons, whether students or professors, of suspected or liberal principles, — and in a word for warring against opinion from the Rhine to the Vistula. Whatever power could do was done, to subdue all Germany into the state of stagnant quiescence, which absolute sovereigns deem the height of prosperity.

By such means, it will be conceived, the Germans were in a great measure debarred of all the advantages, which they had flattered themselves they should derive from the reestablishment of their ancient princes in the station and influence, which they possessed before the victories of Bonaparte had crippled Austria and overthrown Prussia. At the period of their final struggle with the French, every thing had assumed an exclusive nationality of complexion. French words, French proper names, French usages, whatever gave currency to French associations, it was popular to banish from regenerated Germany. But all these feelings passed away with time. The lapse of fifteen years produced a marvellous change in the sentiments of the people, as well in regard of the French as of their own national rulers. In 1830, the Germans entertained little of that holy horror of the French,

which distinguished them in 1814; and they were quite prepared to admire the brilliant triumph achieved by the heroes of the Parisian Barricades. If the influence of the Three Days did not exhibit itself in any great national act, as in Belgium and Poland, it was yet sufficiently apparent in various lesser movements, several of which happened almost contemporaneously in the month of September following the Three Days.

The young Duke of Brunswick had already acquired a most unenviable notoriety by various acts of capricious folly, bordering upon insanity,—having challenged and otherwise grossly insulted his kinsman and guardian George IV of England,—having annulled a constitution given to the States during his minority,—and having absconded from Germany to evade the jurisdiction of the Diet, which had been compelled to interfere in restraint of the mad-cap. He was in Paris at the time of the Revolution, which drove him back in terror to Brunswick. Here he recommenced a series of acts of petty tyranny, in violation of all justice, prudence, and common sense, and in defiance of his counsellors, until at length his preposterous absurdity became utterly insupportable, and kindled an insurrection among his subjects. Returning from the theatre on the evening of the 6th of September, he was attacked by the populace, and reached his palace amid a shower of stones. The next day he proposed to make war upon the people with his little army; but becoming satisfied that his soldiers would not fire upon their fellow-citizens, he again took to flight, and embarked at Hamburg for England. Thereupon the mob gratified themselves with the spectacle of a conflagration of his palace, which they burned to the ground. The more discreet of the Brunswickers, however, caused the States to be

assembled, deposed the runaway Duke Charles, and offered the sovereignty to his younger brother William. The Diet of Germany, and the King of England as the head of the family of Brunswick, having sanctioned this domestic revolution, William accordingly ascended the ducal throne.

A revolution, somewhat similar, took place in Saxony. This Kingdom, the cradle of the Reformation, and inhabited for the chief part by Protestants, is governed by a Catholic family. The reigning King, Anthony, was peculiarly distinguished for his bigotry, and especially his submissiveness to the influence of the Jesuits; which occasioned great dissatisfaction among his Protestant subjects. Early in September a tumult occurred in Leipzig; and soon afterwards a more serious one in Dresden, which so effectually alarmed the King, that he associated with himself in the government his nephew Ferdinand, with the title of co-regent, and thus tranquillized the minds of the people.

In Hesse-Cassel, also, the people embraced this occasion to compel the Elector, — for the reigning prince still clung to the title which indicated his ancient relation to the German Empire, — to concede them a constitutional representation, which he had, on various pretexts, withheld so long, and which the rapacity and oppressiveness of his character rendered very necessary to the well-being of his States. And in October 1831, he made a further concession to the wishes of his subjects, by associating with himself in authority his eldest son and heir apparent as co-regent of the Electorate.

The Kingdom of Hanover was in the same year the scene of still more serious disturbances. Since 1816, this family inheritance of the Kings

of Great Britain has been under the immediate government of the Duke of Cambridge as Governor-General. What were the condition, views, and feelings of the people appears very distinctly from the full and discriminating observations of Mr. Dwight.* The Hanoverians gain no advantage by their connexion with England, and suffer great inconveniencce. Much of their revenue is drawn away to be spent by the Sovereign in England. Their domestic as well as their foreign policy is made subservient to the political interests of the United Kingdom. Whenever umbrage is taken by the continental nations at the conduct of England in any respect, although conduct wholly disconnected with Hanover, yet they make Hanover the scape-goat of their resentment. The consequence is, that Great Britain sedulously shapes her administration of Hanover in such way as to render it a make-weight in her foreign negociations, the means of conciliating and accommodating Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and thus purchasing their forbearance in Germany, and their good will in England. Desirous as Britain might be to enable the Hanoverians to participate in the political blessings, which are the birthright and boast of Britons, such as freedom of the press, of opinion, and of public debate, yet to gratify the Holy Alliance all these are withheld from the people of Hanover. 'The lion and the unicorn, which attract your attention on every public edifice, remind you of liberty; but they crouch before the Prussian eagle and the double-headed vulture of Austria.'

Excited by the success of the French and the Belgians, and stimulated also by the events in Poland, the Hanoverians at length resolved to make an effort to obtain political reforms. The first

* Travels in the North of Germany, p. 101.

movement was in the town of Osterode. A band of citizens, assembled there on the 7th of January 1831, proposed to organize a communal guard, that is, to arm themselves, and then petition for the redress of grievances; but being instantly attacked by a body of troops, they were dispersed without effecting any thing. On the 8th of January a much more serious rising occurred at Göttingen, the seat of the renowned university. There, a party of citizens and students marched to the town-house, deposed the municipal authorities, formed a national guard and a provisional government, and then proceeded to claim of the Governor General a free assembly of representatives to be elected by the people, and the concession of a free constitution. But the government was too strong for them; and in the course of a week so large a military force was despatched against them, that, resistance becoming hopeless, they laid down their arms, and the authority of the Governor General was completely reestablished. Nevertheless, either impelled by the revolutionary spirit of the people, or because eager to anticipate and thus prevent a repetition of disturbance, the Hanoverian government, in June 1832, gave its sanction to a constitution, in accordance with its own political views, that is, containing such restrictive provisions as to render it merely illusory for any valuable purpose.

Previously to this time, however, German politics had assumed a new face. On the 27th and 28th days of May 1832, a meeting of twenty thousand persons was held in the open air, at Halbach in Rhenish Bavaria, consisting of the friends of reform from Hesse, Nassau, Rhenish Prussia, Baden, and Wurtemberg, as well as inhabitants of Bavaria. The Germans there spoke out their wishes and feelings, and with so much

of decision and frankness, that universal alarm seized on the sovereigns, as well of the small as of the large States. Bavaria, not less than Austria and Prussia, condemned and denounced this meeting, although it had been held by permission of the King of Bavaria. And immediately after it occurred, some of the principal actors in it were obliged to fly, or remained to be prosecuted for the opinions they had expressed, as seditious and revolutionary; and measures were taken by the sovereigns, individually and collectively, to put down the spirit of change, which was so evidently gaining ground in all parts of Germany. Of the measures in question, those which proceeded from the Diet deserve careful attention.

In the autumn of 1830 the Diet had entered into arrangements for placing the military forces of the Confederation in a strong defensive attitude, partly as against the danger of invasion, but still more to have the means at hand of suppressing insurrection. In the summer of 1832 these provisions were extended, and the Confederation thus felt itself prepared for the prosecution, under the auspices of Austria and Prussia, of the severest measures of coercion against the reformers in whatever part of Germany. In the published Protocol of the sitting of June 28th. the President of the Diet avers that the revolutionary spirit in Germany had reached such a height, that it not only menaced the internal tranquillity and safety of the different States, but even the existence of the whole Confederation. He complains 'of the immense number of journals and revolutionary pamphlets which inundate the country,—the abuse of speaking even in the Chambers of the States,—the daily progress of a system of propagandism, which at first prudently held itself in reserve, but which now does not blush to

appear in open day,—and the ineffectual attempts of each particular government to repress these disorders;’ and concludes by saying, that ‘combinations have impressed on the Emperor of Austria the painful conviction that the revolution of Germany is advancing at a rapid pace to maturity, and that it will unavoidably burst forth if longer tolerated by the Confederation.’ Not only the King of Prussia, but also the other States of the Confederation, adopted the views of Austria on this occasion, and entered into mutual stipulations of aid in the suppression and punishment of whatever speech, writing, or act, had a tendency to produce political change. And in pursuance of the principles of the Protocol, the Resolutions of the Diet imposed a multitude of restrictions upon the personal freedom of the Germans in respect of everything touching political subjects. Newspapers, of course, became the object of special care. All political associations, or public meetings which could by possibility have a political bearing, were interdicted. In short, the legislation of the Diet was pointed to the end of rendering the subjects of the constitutional States of Germany as destitute of direct voice in public affairs as those of Austria and Prussia.

These proceedings of the Diet, which aimed to crush at a blow all attempts or desires of public improvement in Germany, could not fail to occasion a lively sensation throughout the country. In the legislative Chambers of the constitutional States, the friends of liberal institutions argued warmly and loudly against the Protocol and Resolutions. No political event of moment has yet transpired, to show the strength of parties in the entire Confederation. Indeed, the Germans, although bent upon political reform at a proper time, are evidently not ripe for action. The in-

tellectual character of the people, and the separate political circles wherein they move, are adverse to celerity of movement among them, however resolved they may be that sooner or later such movement shall take place. And while bearing this in mind, we must likewise consider the peculiar influence exercised by Austria and Prussia upon the rest of Germany.

The Austrian Empire consists of large portions, having no correspondence of interest or legislation, and no bond of union except the common authority of the Emperor. In Hungary the Emperor is a limited monarch, the Diet having traditional or prescriptive rights, which have outlived every change of dynasty. In the rest of the Empire the government is what its defenders call a paternal despotism. In Italy, this paternity imports a vast army of semi-barbarians, who occupy Lombardy as a conquered country, it being well known that nothing else would enforce the obedience of the Italians. In Austria, proper, it imports a total prostration of human intellect to the will of one man, a state of utter abasement of mind in all things appertaining to government. 'The whole political system is directed,' says Mr. Russell, 'with prying and persevering jealousy, to keep people in ignorance of all that is going on in the world, except what it suits the cabinet to make known, and to prevent the people from thinking differently from the way in which the cabinet thinks. All the modes of education are arranged on the same depressing principle, of keeping mind in such a state, that it shall neither feel the temptation, nor possess the ability, to resist power.' In short, the government is elaborately organized for the exclusive benefit of a family in the first instance, and then for the benefit of the rest of the human race just so far as may suit the

taste and convenience of that family, and no farther. The Emperor very emphatically described his policy, when he said: 'I do not want wise men in my dominions; I want good subjects.' It is, therefore, the capacity of being a *subject*, not that of being a MAN, which constitutes the end of human existence in Austria. Accordingly, all travellers speak of the Austrians, properly so called, as distinguished for ignorance and superstition, the qualities naturally to be expected from the policy of the government, and the qualities without which such a government could not subsist. The Austrians may be content, or at least quiescent, so long as circumstances favor the Empire; but a sovereignty, which does not rest upon domestic institutions, is of necessity incapable of imparting permanent progression to the people, and destitute of intrinsic vigor.

Prussia is composed of materials less heterogeneous than Austria, and the domestic policy of her government is radically different from that of the Empire. As to her population, it is true that one third of it, namely, the Rhine provinces and Saxon Prussia, has foreign attachments, and sympathizes very decidedly in feeling with the constitutional German States. But the great bulk of the Kingdom is undoubtedly satisfied with its government, absolute as it is, for reasons peculiar to the country. It is customary enough to think and speak of Prussia as a military despotism; but the fact does not correspond to the idea suggested by those words; for Prussia does not consist of a subject population held in obedience by a standing army, any more than France. All the male inhabitants of Prussia, from the age of twenty to that of thirty two, compose the *Landwehr*, the nature of which is this:—One third of the Prussian army is changed annually by means

of a regular conscription, every man entering the army to serve three years, at the expiration of which he retires, giving place to a new draft; and thus the whole nation is trained to war.* Moreover, in Prussia all pains are taken to educate the people, to give them knowledge, to make the whole population well-informed, and to raise up from it great scholars, men of science and letters, worthy of the age. Here, then, is an absolute government, which arms every body, and educates every body, contrary to the usual policy of such governments, which educates nobody, and arms only a select body of professional soldiers. Of course, in Prussia, the people possess the moral, as well as well as the physical, force of the country; and yet they are anti-revolutionary; and the question may well occur, how are these paradoxes explained?

The answer is easy, and it speaks volumes of instruction to absolute governments throughout the world. It is the peculiarity of Prussia, at the present time, that its government is systematically innovating, and in essence decidedly revolutionary. The government exercises a censorship over the press; it is supported by a rigorous police; it taxes the people at will, and heavily; it subjects them to the grievous hardship of an unsparing military conscription. But at the same time it is devoted, heart and soul, to the improvement of the nation, to the drawing out of all the resources of the country, to the eradication of ancient abuses. It anticipates the political wants of the nation, it goes before their demand of popular institutions, by promptly doing every thing for the domestic condition of the country, which the people themselves could or would do if they were

* Russell's *Tour in Germany*, p. 316; Dwight's *Travels in the North of Germany*, p. 158.

possessed of power. Discontent, insurrection, revolution, arises from opposition of interest between the ruler and the ruled: the King of Prussia has chosen to identify himself in all things with the people, to have no separate interests of his own, and of course the people have neither inducement nor object for political change. He maintains his authority by a rigidly conscientious discharge of his duty as the executive chief of the nation; by the introduction of wise laws; by the choice of eminently good ministers; and by the universal spread of education.* Prussia is tranquil, therefore, by virtue of a kind of tacit

*The attention paid to primary education in Prussia is so remarkable a feature of her institutions, as to justify some details on the subject. In a late number of Blackwood's Magazine there is an essay on Prussia, which, although an elaborate party diatribe, is valuable and curious. Its account of the public schools is collected from the Report on the State of Public Instruction by Victor Cousin, the result of a special mission in behalf of the French government.

‘In Prussia, the duty of sending children to school is enforced by the law itself. * * * To insist on parents sending their children to schools without providing for their instruction, where the parents were themselves unable to do so, would of course have been preposterous. For this purpose, every facility is given in Prussia. *Armen Schule*, schools for poor children exist in almost every village; and where the parents are so destitute as to be totally unable to defray the expense of their children's education, assistance is liberally furnished from the funds provided by Government for the purpose, in the shape of clothing, books, and necessaries for the children. Every village is bound by law to have a school of primary instruction (*elementar Schule*,) furnished with every requisite for the public instruction; in districts, where the population is both Protestant and Catholic, a school for the children of each religion. * * * Seminaries are directed by the law to be formed in each district (*Schullehrer seminarien*,) the sole object of which is the education of schoolmasters. In these the future instructors of the youth of Prussia themselves receive instruction; and according to the certificates which they obtain, their chance of a future appointment as schoolmaster is rigidly regulated.’ [Blackwood's Magazine, No. ccx,

compromise between the King and the people, to the effect that the latter will wait awhile for representative institutions, and that the former will meantime push on the work of melioration, unflinchingly, in every thing else, securing the respect of the nation and retaining their confidence by using power only for the public good. Prussia, in short, presents to view the accident of a wise despotism, the phenomenon of a revolutionary one, and the prodigy of a disinterested one; and the partisans of absolutism have little cause for the exultation they show, in view of such a case; since it demonstrates how contentedly and readily the people obey, when the government deserves obedience.

According to the statement of the population of Germany given by Hassel, 9,635,834 Germans belong to Austria, 9,025,576 to Prussia, and the remaining 13,062,759 are distributed among the smaller States in various proportions, Bavaria, the largest, having 3,528,597, and Lichtenstein, the smallest, only 5,546 inhabitants. The grand purpose of political reform, which in reality animates all patriotic Germans, and is considered more or less throughout the country, yet, from the peculiar circumstances of Austria and Prussia, manifests itself most distinctly in the smaller States, is the union of all this population under a single government. The pressing political want of the Germans, at the present day, is reunion, — the possession of a true common fatherland, a national existence belonging to Germany as such, the cementing together anew of all the separate fragments of the nation.

The Germany of Madame de Stael, a land of dreamy philosophy, of extravagant sentimentality, of genius lost in a misty atmosphere of transcendental ideas, exists no longer. Its people are

thoughtful still, but they are coming to be more practical in their thoughtfulness, and to think on subjects of sublunary and immediate interest. Germany has long possessed a literary unity, a common feeling created by the possession of a beautiful, a noble, an exalted common literature; but the sentiment of political unity, the craving after a German fatherland, was produced by a series of events affecting Germany almost as powerfully as did the Reformation, namely, the wars consequent on the French Revolution. 'Germany,' it has been said, 'with her supineness, — with her gentle infirmities, her almost useless virtues, — with her aimless overflowing genius, — with her vague cosmopolitanism, — with her divided forms of religion, and her fruitless metaphysical speculations,' — needed some resistless agency 'to clench and draw together her severed parts,' and she found it in the mailed hand of Napoleon. Her inhabitants were united by common misfortune; their reunion was cemented in their common blood; they were trampled as it were into a community of national feeling. The Germans, like the Italians, have now gained a definite aim, and they are moving on towards it slowly, but surely; and that aim is the reconstruction of Germany; not the Germany of the existing league, subject to the control of the King of Hungary or the Elector of Brandenburg, but a Germany of popular rights and constitutional powers, a Germany of one great nation, capable of playing its part efficiently in the affairs of Europe, and in the work of European civilization.*

* New Monthly Magazine for January 1823, p. 41.

CHAPTER XI.

Great Britain.—Accession of William IV.—State of Parties.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Progress of Opinion.—New Parliament.—Opening Debates.—Change of Ministry.—Condition of England.—Ireland.—The British Constitution.—The Reform Bill.—Debates.—Dissolution of Parliament.—New House.—Rejection of the Bill by the Lords.—Debates.—Public Excitement.—Riots.—Resumption of the Bill.—The House of Lords.—Resignation of the Ministers.—Their Recall.—Passage of the Bill.—Dissolution of Parliament.—State of Parties.—The reformed Parliament.—Concluding Remarks.

It is undeniably true, as a general remark, that the people of the United States possess more full and accurate knowledge of the condition of things in Europe, than Europeans possess in respect of the United States. This knowledge proceeds, in the first instance, from our colonial relation to certain countries of Europe, especially Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Germany. It is augmented by the habits of Americans, — their enterprising spirit, — their extensive personal intercourse with Europe in the pursuit of wealth, instruction, or pleasure, — their characteristic curiosity to understand, and readiness to be profited by, the peculiarities of European skill and science, — their freedom from the conventional prejudices, which attach to the stationary mass of the population of Europe. The inhabitants of each individual European nation in general, and with exception of the highest classes in wealth or knowledge, move within the straight circle of their particular nationality much more than the Americans; and for the simple reason, that national prejudices are altogether

traditional; and where a people, like that of the United States, is of recent existence, and derives its blood from many different stocks, there is, of necessity, less of narrow exclusiveness in their knowledge, and a juster appreciation of foreign objects of interest.

And while this position is true as to the whole of Europe, it is eminently so in the case of England. Our population, although mixed of other countries, is chiefly drawn from British Isles; their language is our language; their forms of religion, their judicial system, their laws in regard of private rights, closely resemble ours; and it wants little to make us the common possessors of the same literature. Our prominent men of letters, equally with so many of our statesmen and merchants, are personally conversant with the mother-country. Not only the choice productions of the English press, but even much of its ephemeral matter, and many works that are totally unworthy of the honor of a reimpression or of perusal, are now republished in the United States; and the better periodical publications of Britain are read here almost as extensively as at home. The recent devise of 'Libraries' so called, and similar cheap and compact forms of publication, have greatly increased the number and variety of English works reprinted in this country. And if their newspapers are not republished here, yet they are the fountain-head, from which most of the current political information of the day flows into our own newspaper-press. All these considerations, added to our large and constant commercial intercourse with Great Britain, render us familiar with the general course of political history and opinions in the United Kingdom.

Therefore, in a cursory review, like the present, of the Revolution of the Three Days and its

immediate effects, it seems less needful to enter extensively into the multifarious questions of constitutional history or philosophy, suggested by the remodelling of the British House of Commons, that remarkable consequence of the battle of the Parisian Barricades. It will suffice to present a brief account of the progress of the great, but happily bloodless, revolution, which has burst upon the land of our forefathers,—leaving much to the reader's intelligence of English affairs, where, if it concerned other countries, explanations might be desirable.*

George IV died at Windsor Castle on the 26th of June 1830, leaving behind him a memory stained with the worst personal vices, and marked by no eminent public virtue. His reign, as Regent and King, witnessed the splendid triumphs of England in Asia and on the Continent of Europe; but

* It would be scarcely possible for the highest class of American statesmen to fall into the grave errors of fact respecting English affairs, which occur in the writings and speeches of the best informed among the English, when treating of America. A signal example of this occurs in a late speech of Mr. Stanley, at present decidedly the leading debater in the House of Commons of the ministerial side, an able and a peculiarly well informed statesman, and one who has travelled in the United States. In his elaborate speech upon the Colonial Slavery Bill, he is reported as making the following statements:—

‘He felt unwilling to trouble the house by citing instances of the interference of the mother country in the internal affairs of the colonies, but could not avoid referring them to the doctrine laid down on this head by Mr. Otys, the President of Massachusetts, 1765. The right honorable gentleman here read a passage from the manifesto of Mr. Otys, to the effect that the ‘mother country possessed the right, and was bound to exercise it, of interfering in the regulation of all its colonies and dependencies for the good of the whole—that she alone was the judge of the propriety and time of this interference—and that from her final decision there was no appeal.’ He could not be charged with having confined

to him individually belongs hardly even the credit of selecting the civil and military functionaries, by whom those triumphs were achieved. Entering upon life the idol of the nation, he died unwept, as he had lived unhonored. The associate, in his youth, of the great geniuses of the age, he copied nothing from them but their vices, which in them were the spots upon the sun's disk, but in him were dark clouds obscuring all his native brightness. He used them to subserve his prodigality, so long as he needed their aid in that respect, and then cast them off with the same recklessness of cold-blooded egotism, which characterized his treatment of the female sex. That infamy of persevering malice, which began by driving the Princess of Wales from his arms,—then plotted her ruin, — and finally, when after

himself to the precedents of England after this declaration of an American.'

Now this passage is to be marked for two things. One is, the singular ascription of title or office to Mr. Otis unknown to our history; which would hardly seem to be a blunder of the reporter, because the word 'manifesto' is afterwards used, implying the authoritative act of the executive head of a country. Be it, that this is a trifling mistake, touching only the history of a small American colony: — it is a mistake such as Mr. McDuffie or Mr. Everett would not commit in our House, as to the obscurest bye-places of the history of England.—The other remarkable trait of the passage is Mr. Stanley's extraordinary simplicity, in going to Massachusetts for proof that Americans admit the unlimited right of legislation over the British colonies assumed by the Parliament of Great Britain. Is not this the great political question, which runs through the history of Massachusetts, — the question argued unceasingly by the colonial patriots, beginning with the Puritan founders of Plymouth and Boston, and ending with the sturdy yeomen, who manned the brow of Bunker's Hill? Did not our fathers dispute, and protest, and remonstrate, for more than a century, against this claim of the Metropolis that 'she alone was the judge of the propriety and time' of legislating for us, and that 'from her final decision there was no appeal?' And when

years of exile she returned to claim her place and station, rendered her the subject of the most shameless prosecution which disgraces the judicial annals of England, — all this was profligacy more conspicuous, but not more cruel, than his abandonment of Mrs. Fitzherbert, his wedded wife, for a stipulated sum of money, or his meanness of injustice towards the less pure companions of his domestic hours. And in the exercise of his royal functions he evinced the same odious traits of character, which belong to his private life. To him, it mattered little who ruled, whig or tory, Canning or Wellington, so that money abounded for his personal luxuries and architectural follies, and that he was relieved of all vexation, responsibility, and sources of anxiety, in the management of the affairs of the Kingdom.

His brother mounted the throne amid the ac-

they were grown weary of the argument upon paper, did they not transfer the controversy to the battle-field, and there obtain a settlement of it in their own favor? Truly the opinions of the Colony of Massachusetts, touching the constitutional authority of the metropolitan Parliament, are a strange text for teaching unqualified submission to the Colony of Jamaica.

As to the words ascribed to Mr. Otis, the fact is, that at one brief period in his brilliant political career, he manifested great indecision of opinion and conduct, and made concessions in favor of the jurisdiction of Parliament, which his countrymen almost universally condemned, and which were in contradiction to his own earlier and later declared belief. But those very concessions were coupled with the condition of an *equal numerical representation* of all the subjects of the English crown, without which he, even at that period of slackened patriotism, denied the supremacy of Parliament in the Colony. In reference to the opinions of Mr. Otis in 1763-5, see Tudor's 'Life of Otis' ch xi, and the 'Letters of Novanglus' p. 307. Concerning the whole question, see 'Massachusetts State Papers,' *passim*, but especially p. 396 and p. 45; 'Letters of Novanglus and Massachusettensis,' *passim*; and Hutchinson's 'History of Massachusetts,' vol. i, p. 251, 233, 239, 326 and 442, as also his 'Collection'.

clamations of the nation. Not that William possessed any such qualities of head or heart, as would confer distinction upon a subject. Nay, his abandonment of the mother of his children to die heart-broken and starving in a foreign land, is but poorly atoned by the rank bestowed upon the Fitzclarences since his accession to the crown. But the people saw in him a frank, openhearted sailor, who, although he had not, like James II, gathered laurels on the ocean, yet had acquired the manly traits of an ocean-life, and if somewhat ruder, less courtly, or less cultivated in taste, than George IV, yet was not enveloped in the same repulsive elements of selfish Epicureanism. A social minded King and a youthful Queen promised new scenes to the courtier, a change of sovereign offered hopes to the politician, and a sailor-prince was recommendation enough to the popular mass of Britons.

Yet the first act of the King disappointed beyond measure the numerous party of the Whigs. They anticipated, although without any very strong reasons, that the new reign would bring with it a change in the *personnel*, if not in the policy, of the government, and that the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and their subordinate associates, would not exclusively compose the cabinet of William IV. His children, at any rate, were connected by marriage with distinguished members of the Opposition, and he had readily acknowledged and honored the friendships of his youth. Besides, the office of Lord High Admiral bestowed upon him by Mr. Caning, had been taken from him under the administration of the Duke of Wellington. These were grounds of hope, at least, although scarcely of expectation. But he retained in office the Ministers of his predecessor, assuring the Duke of Wel-

lington of his perfect confidence. Hereupon the Opposition rashly and prematurely entered upon the question of a Regent, in anticipation of the demise of the King, and the accession of the young Princess Victoria, the presumptive heir to the monarchy. The Ministers being signally triumphant on this point, the Parliament was dissolved under circumstances, which seemed to assure a long continuance of the Duke of Wellington's power.

And the state of public affairs at this moment justified such a conclusion. But, in the very outset of the canvassing for the next Parliament, came the French Revolution of the Three Days, to confound calculation, and give a new direction to public opinion, that supreme arbiter of party in a representative government. The events in Belgium then followed, and a pervading agitation seized upon Europe, perplexing her monarchs with 'fear of change.' Amid all the doubts and conflicts of the time, however, one fact was borne in upon the mind with irresistible force, namely, the occurrence of a great European reaction in behalf of popular rights. The Coalition of 1793 had driven the republican principle to take shelter under the banner of a military dictatorship; the Holy Alliance had again made successful war upon it when it reappeared in 1820; but now it had arisen once more in its might, and repossessed itself of the Capitoline heights of European civilization, — of that favored France, whose every pulsation vibrates through Christendom. Other countries might feel the shock in their toppling institutions overthrown by the hand of violence, in the midst of commotion and bloodshed: — its effect on England was equally decided, but happily not attended by the same consequences. Those, who favored change, had

learnt the efficiency of public opinion, by witnessing its success in wringing from a reluctant ministry the relief of the Catholics; and the echo of popular triumph abroad cheered them on to greater efforts. The spirit of political regeneration was abroad in Britain, not less than in France, in Brabant, in Poland; but instead of kindling a war of classes or races, it served only to add so much of vigor to the cause of the people, that they were enabled to work out a bloodless revolution in the government of the Kingdom. Reform, reform in the representation of the people in the House of Commons, and after that in the endowments and organization of the Church, in the system of taxation and national revenue, and in whatever else abounded in ancient abuses, — such now became the cry at the hustings, the demand of the press, the predominant voice of the nation. It was a condition of public sentiment, decisive as to the character of the new Parliament and the duration of the Wellington ministry.

When the Parliament assembled, therefore, on the 22d of November, the relative strength of parties proved to be very different from what it was in July. A radical change had passed over the face of the country. Parties, indeed, were previously somewhat disorganized by the circumstances attending the measure of Catholic Emancipation. The adoption of the measure by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, after they had so long led the opponents of concession, had contributed to divide and disaffect the Tories; while the Whigs, seeing the grand question of so many successive cabinets forever disposed of by their cooperation with the moderate Tories, were invigorated by the success of the principles for which they had so long con-

tended, and felt that nothing now remained, to exclude them from participation in the duty and honor of governing the Kingdom. On the one hand, the Duke of Wellington could count less upon the devotedness of his own party: — on the other, he had more to apprehend from the zeal and activity of his opponents. And worst of all, the tenor of the King's speech betrayed, in the very opening scene of the session, that the victor of Waterloo had grown uncertain of his own policy, and thus presented a wavering and feeble line of defence to the assaults of the Whigs.

The King delivered the customary speech from the throne in person, that speech expressing, of course, the responsible opinions and purposes of the Ministers, not the individual sentiments of the King. In reference to the change of dynasty in France he said: —

‘The elder branch of the House of Bourbon no longer reigns in France, and the Duke of Orleans has been called to the throne by the title of the King of the French. Having received from the new sovereign a declaration of his earnest desire to cultivate the good understanding, and to maintain inviolate all the engagements, subsisting with this country, I did not hesitate to continue my diplomatic relations and friendly intercourse with the French court.’

Here was *unhesitating* acquiescence in the result of a popular insurrection in one country; but another paragraph contained a signal reprobation of a similar movement in the contiguous country, and implied a purpose of interference in its internal affairs.

‘I have witnessed with much regret the state of affairs in the Low Countries. I lament that the enlightened administration of the King should not have preserved his dominions from revolt, and that the wise and prudent measure of submitting the desires and complaints of the people to the deliberations of an extraordinary meeting of the States-General should have led to no satisfactory result. I

am endeavoring, in concert with my allies, to devise such means of restoring tranquillity as may be compatible with the good government of the Netherlands, and with the future security of other states.'

Nothing could have been worse conceived than these expressions respecting the Netherlands. It gave the Opposition a fruitful theme of reproach; and no man employed it with more tremendous effect than Mr. Brougham, who had come to Parliament with augmented weight of influence as member for Yorkshire. His observations were distinguished for the vehemence of his denunciation of the Ministers. He described them as 'the most feeble of any ministers into whose hands, by a strange combination or accidents, the government of the country ever fell;' he spoke of them as 'hardly sufficient to manage the routine of official business in the calmest times;' as headstrong men, underrating their weakness and overrating their powers. The Ministers poorly defended themselves against the remarks of the Opposition as to their foreign policy; and the turn of debate, in the House of Lords, drew a declaration from the Duke of Wellington, which settled the fate of his administration. To the observation of Earl Grey that the security of the country called for the adoption of measures of temperate reform in the constitution of the House of Commons, not for the increase of the military establishment, the Duke of Wellington replied: —

'For my own part I will say, that I never heard that any country ever had a more improved or more satisfactory representation, than this country enjoys at this moment. I do say, that this country has now a legislature, more calculated to answer all the purposes of a good legislature, than any other that can well be devised; that it possesses, and deservedly possesses, the confidence of the country; and that its discussions have a powerful influence in the country.

And I say further, that if I had to form a legislature, I would create one,—not equal in excellence to the present, for that I could not expect to be able to do, but something as nearly of the same description as possible. I should form it of men possessed of a very large portion of the property of the country, in which the landlords should have a great preponderance. I therefore am not prepared with any measure of parliamentary reform, nor shall any measure of the kind be proposed by the government, so long as I hold my present position.’

This declaration, so lame in argument, so military in tone, placed the Duke of Wellington in an attitude of direct personal hostility to the people, and thus rendered him supremely odious. A few days afterwards an affair occurred, which rendered him supremely ridiculous. Preparations had been made for receiving the King and Queen at Guildhall, in the city of London, on the Lord Mayor’s day, and honoring them with a sumptuous entertainment in behalf of the Corporation. Every thing, which city opulence and civic state could furnish, to impart magnificence to the rare occasion, was, of course, called into play. But the ground taken by the Duke of Wellington having drawn down infinite clamor upon his head, exposed him to threats of personal injury; and Alderman Key, the Lord Mayor elect, saw fit to write a private letter to the Duke, apprising him of the risk he would incur while proceeding through the streets of London to attend the banquet, and counselling him to employ a military escort. Hereupon it was resolved by the Ministers to advise the King to postpone the intended ceremonies, for the alleged cause of information received, that advantage might probably be taken of an occasion, which must necessarily assemble a vast number of persons by night, to create tumult and confusion, and thereby to endanger the lives and properties of the King’s subjects. This being

officially communicated to the Corporation (Nov. 7), and by them made public, produced extraordinary excitement. Men supposing that some dire conspiracy against the government was detected, universal panic prevailed throughout London. But when it was discovered that all the real danger was of an attack upon the Duke of Wellington, — that, to cover this fact, the lives and properties of the community were held up to the view as threatened with peril, — and that the pageant of the royal banquet and of the Lord Mayor's day must be deferred to quiet the nervous alarms of the veteran conqueror of a hundred fields, alternate indignation and laughter succeeded to the very extreme of consternation.

It so happened that on the 8th of November, the day after the resolution of the Ministers to defer the royal visit was communicated to the Corporation, the first opportunity occurred to test the strength of the Administration. A warm debate had arisen in the House of Commons upon the subject of the city dinner, which prepared the House to deal full measure of retribution upon the Ministers. When, after this, Mr. Goulburn, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought forward his plan for the settlement of the civil list for the new reign, — and it appeared that the Ministers, while causing the King to profess the surrender of all the hereditary revenues of the crown, and thus depend upon the Parliament for his whole income, had made a mental reservation of the revenues of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, — a vote of inquiry to verify the statement of the Ministers, equivalent to one of censure of their conduct, was moved by Sir Henry Parnell, and carried on the 15th of November, by a majority of 29 in a full House. Nothing now remained for the Ministers but to re-

sign, which they did forthwith, their resignations being accepted by the King.

The Duke of Wellington's administration was therefore at an end. The King asked of him and of Sir Robert Peel severally, to whom it was advisable to apply for the formation of a new ministry, and they each suggested Earl Grey. On the 16th this nobleman received authority from the King to compose a cabinet, coupled with the royal assurance that the unreserved confidence, bestowed upon the Duke of Wellington, was transferred undiminished to his successor. In the course of a week the new cabinet was arranged, and the Whigs entered upon the administration of the Kingdom.*

Among the new Ministers there were only three, Lord Palmerston, Lord Goderich, and Mr Charles Grant, who united official experience with capacity for public life. The rest had

* The principal appointments were
 Earl Grey, First Lord of the Treasury.
 Lord Brougham and Vaux (Mr Brougham,) Lord Chancellor of England.
 Viscount Palmerston, Secretary for the Foreign Department.
 Viscount Melbourne, Secretary for the Home Department.
 Viscount Goderich, Secretary for the Colonies.
 Marquis of Lansdowne, President of the Council.
 Lord Durham, Lord Privy Seal.
 Mr Charles Grant, President of the Board of Control.
 Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty.
 Lord Holland, Chancellor of Lancaster.
 Duke of Richmond, Postmaster General.
 Lord Auckland, Master of the Mint and President of the Board of Trade.
 Mr Poulet Thompson, Vice President of the Board of Trade.
 Mr W. Wynne, Secretary of War.
 Marquis of Anglesey, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
 Mr Stanley, Chief Secretary for Ireland.
 Lord John Russell, Paymaster of the Forces.
 Lord Hill, Commander in Chief.
 Sir Thomas Denman, Attorney General.
 Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Devonshire.

been chiefly distinguished on the benches of Opposition, especially Earl Grey, the Premier, and Lord Brougham, the Chancellor, confessedly the ablest men of the cabinet. In respect of parliamentary eminence in the House of Commons, also, it was a feeble administration, containing no individual of the ability and standing of Sir Robert Peel, — not to go back to the times of Canning, or Pitt and Fox, for there were ‘giants in those days.’ This was painfully apparent on the introduction of the Reform Bill by Lord John Russell, as also in the financial debates conducted by Lord Althorpe, although the subsequent distinction of Mr Stanley has contributed much towards redeeming the cabinet from the reproach of deficiency in this behalf.

Earl Grey embraced the earliest occasion after the formation of the cabinet, to explain the principles, which would govern his administration. Economy and retrenchment were the professed objects of all ministers, and Earl Grey’s concern to diminish the public burdens would have been little worth, standing alone; but he also announced that non-intervention with the internal affairs of other countries was the spirit of his foreign policy; and that a reform in the House of Commons was the more peculiar measure, to which he pledged the government formed under his auspices. To afford time for maturing a measure of so much importance in principle and so complicated in details, Parliament was adjourned to the 3rd of January 1831, after passing upon no business of moment except the Regency Bill.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the domestic condition of England at this period, especially in its agricultural districts. It was a time of unexampled distress among the laboring poor. They were not agitated by revolutionary

projects; they did not avow or indicate any hostility of class, any hatred of the clergy or aristocracy: they were starving, and all they demanded was work at such wages as would give them bread. An overtaxed population was writhing under the pressure of wretchedness and hunger, and at length reached such a state of irritation, that from complaints they proceeded to violence, and filled the richest midland and southern counties with outrage and conflagration. Brutally ignorant, misguided as to their rights and the cause of their sufferings, they fell upon means of supposed redress, which served only to aggravate the evil. Their operations having become systematized in some wise, were in part open and public, in part secret. They assembled in large bodies, demanding of the farmers and gentry two things, the destruction of labor-saving machinery, and the raising of the wages of labor according to a fixed tariff. Where their demands were granted, they quietly separated, or repaired to some other place: where they met with denial or opposition, they proceeded to destroy the threshing or other machines in broad day, and without any attempt to conceal themselves or their purpose. And while thus righting themselves, as they supposed, in the day time, they set fire by night to the barns and cornstacks of those among the landholders, who refused to comply with their requisitions. These excesses began in August, and continued until the close of the year, when the gaols were filled with offenders, and the public authorities had in some sort regained their ascendancy. Special commissions were appointed to try the offender; and the solemnity of the judicial proceedings completed the task of tranquilizing the country.

Ireland, of course, was the scene of perpetual

agitation. Its miserable peasantry had long since discovered that the removal of political disabilities from the Catholics would not fill their craving stomachs with food. Mr O'Connell had triumphantly taken his seat in the House of Commons; the career of political distinction was now open to him and his co-religionists equally with the members of the established church; but although thus far was well, it was rightly considered as the means of good to Ireland, not the end. The Irish patriots now sought to improve the advantage they had gained, so as to procure good government for their country, in place of the horrible misrule, which aggravated all its peculiar misfortunes. Above all, they insisted, and with reason, on being released from the burden of a double church-establishment. And they began to unite in demanding the repeal of the Act of Union, the restoration of a separate, or partially separate, national existence, whereby they might escape from the forced boon of English viceroys and English armies of occupation. Meantime, however, the creation of a reforming ministry having opened to the Irish obvious prospects of benefit to their country, they suspended their efforts in other respects, to join heart and hand in the furtherance of reform in Parliament.

How many splendid panegyrics have been lavished upon the English constitution! What superlative perfection has not been ascribed to that mysterious abstraction of excellence, that intangible shape, which, chase it as you will from age to age, still flies before the pursuer, defying all attempts to give it a local habitation in any assignable epoch! — What is meant by the English constitution? What *thing* does the phrase import? We, of the modern republican governments, well understand by the word 'constitution' the fundamental law of the state, the written

instrument, wherein the whole mass of individuals composing that state have defined the conditions and limitations of their social connexion, the terms of their continuance together as one people. But England has no such fundamental law, written or unwritten, prescribing the terms of the social union, or limiting the authority of public functionaries. Her statesmen, therefore, employ the word 'constitution' as applicable to something essentially different from what we intend by the expression. Indeed they use it in several distinct senses. Sometimes, it implies the actual frame of government itself as existing at any given era. On other occasions, it signifies the vast and contradictory body of charters, laws, precedents, prescriptive usages, parliamentary or judicial decisions, of the multifarious governments of the island, from the time of its Saxon or Danish conquerors down to the last of the Guelphs. And not seldom is it used to designate the *spirit* of the government and of its laws, in which case it receives interpretations more or less liberal according to the party-bias or social position of each individual. In whichever of these meanings the word is understood, the great peculiarity of the English constitution, as contrasted with the forms of government subsisting upon the Continent, has, until recently, been its possession of a mixed organization of the several elementary principles of political society, in its King, its hereditary Peerage, and its elective House of Commons.

In regard to these respective powers, as they are frequently called, there is this of singular to be remarked, in comparing them with our institutions. The three together, King, Lords, and Commons, compose the *sovereignty* of the Kingdom. With us, the entire people are sovereign,

theoretically and practically. That is, in our constitutions, the people are the constituent body, who voluntarily entrust a certain definite portion of their natural freedom to functionaries constituted by themselves, — retaining, however, the legal capacity, as distinguished from the revolutionary power, to determine the trust, or modify its terms, whenever they shall so choose. It is not so in England. True, the eternal principles of right, there as here, assign the final seat of power to the entire people; but, there, no *legal* means exist for enforcing the rights of the people as against the King and the two Houses of Parliament. These, by the theory of the English constitution, are supreme; they hold in their hands the constituent, as well as the legislative, power of the nation; and the people at large have not, constitutionally, any direct constituent authority as the fundamental sovereignty of the state. It is not by the acts of a convention or constituent assembly specially chosen by the people for that purpose, but by acts of Parliament or of a portion of Parliament, that changes have been made in the English constitution.*

Again. Reviewing the constitutional history of England, we find that the great changes in her

* ‘The power and jurisdiction of Parliament, says Sir Edward Coke, is so *transcendant and absolute*, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds.

* * It hath *sovereign and uncontrollable* authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations; * * this being the place where that absolute despotic power, which must in all governments reside somewhere, is intrusted by the constitution of these Kingdoms. * * It can regulate or new-model the succession to the crown. * * It can alter the established religion of the land. * * It can change and create afresh even the constitution of the Kingdom.’

Blackstone’s Commentaries, vol. i, p. 159.

institutions, whether for good or for evil, have been of two kinds, namely, — either forcible changes, revolutions in the strict sense, — or else encroachments by one of the branches of the government upon some other branch. Therefore it has happened that the English nation has been more or less free, the government more or less absolute, according as the power of the monarchs, of the great barons, or of the commons, may have preponderated in the public affairs of the Kingdom. Thus, in the time of Henry VIII the aristocracy and the commons together succumbed to royalty; in Cromwell's time royalty and aristocracy were overborne by the commons; in 1668 the commons and the aristocracy combined against royalty; and in 1831, as we shall presently see, the regal and the popular branches united to abase the aristocracy. And so, also, whenever changes have taken place in favor of the people, without the intervention of physical force, they have not been effected by the exercise of any constituent authority on the part of the people, but through the medium of legislative curtailments of the power of King or Lords, or legislative additions to the power of the House of Commons.

These considerations are material to the right conception of the Reform Bill, as exhibiting the bearing of the measure on the English constitution. It added to the weight of the people by a legislative curtailment of the constitutional power of the aristocracy. And when we come to examine this great transfer of power in its details, stripping it of conventional forms, we shall see that it was a radical change in the spirit and theory of the whole government of England.

Undoubtedly the Saxons retained to the last the same practice of popular and select councils,

which obtained among the other tribes of Germany. This abundantly appears from what remains of the history and legislation of that period. Certain it is, however, that the legal constitution of Parliament is derived from the Great Charter, exacted of King John in 1215, by the barons assembled at Runnymede, wherein he promised to summon all the great lay and clerical barons personally, and all other vassals of the crown by the sheriff and bailiffs, to meet at some certain place to assess aids and scutages, that is, grants of money in commutation or discharge of feudal service. Out of this beginning, at all events, sprang the House of Commons, consisting of the elected representatives of the burgesses and lesser barons.

Infinite research and argument have been expended upon the inquiry, whether, in its origin, the House of Commons consisted of a true elective representation. It is now a question of mere antiquarian learning, possessed of little, if any, practical utility ; but the enemies of parliamentary reform seem, on the whole, to show satisfactorily that the House of Commons never strictly represented the people. It was instituted, as we have seen, to aid in assessing the scutage, which belonged to the crown as a feudal right. In practice, writs of summons were sent only to boroughs under the royal influence, and the crown even went so far as to nominate the individuals to be returned to Parliament. Furthermore, the nobility exercised the same kind of influence over the elections in ancient as in modern times ; and the same diversity, as to the number and qualifications of the electors, has obtained in every age. This being the case, the only sure ground of parliamentary reform is the irrationality and injustice of the old system, not the pretence of abuse and corruption, or of restoring the original purity of

the English constitution. That pure type of elective representation is a creature of the imagination.*

And in truth there was enough of absurdity in the constitution of the House of Commons to justify any measure of complaint and condemnation. In the first place, about two thirds of the members, although nominally elected, yet were returned from close boroughs subjected to the dictation, or controlling influence, of individual peers or commoners. Many such boroughs, or rather the real estate of which the burgesses were tenants, possessed a pecuniary value in the market founded on the power acquired by the purchaser to nominate its member or members. It sometimes happened, as in the case of Old Sarum, that this privilege belonged to the site of a borough, which had utterly ceased to have inhabitants; and frequently the voters were less than twenty in number. Then, not a few of the open boroughs were accustomed to sell their votes for a price, notwithstanding the multitude of laws enacted to secure the purity of elections. In addition to which many large and populous cities, like Birmingham and Manchester, which had grown up to consequence in modern times, were without a representation, while a multitude of petty villages were prescriptively entitled, either by virtue of their ancient importance, or of special favor shown them in the original bestowment of the privilege. In short, the House of Commons did not represent the people of England; we have the authority of Mr Canning for saying it was never intended to represent them; and the Reform Bill had for object to insert in the English constitu-

* Mackintosh's History of England, vol. i, p. 293; Hallam's Constitutional History of England, chap. v; London Quarterly Review, vol. xlv, p. 268.

tion the principle of a true representation of the people, which before was no part of it in spirit or in fact, — and thus to transfer power from the aristocracy to the democracy of the country.

This great constitutional measure was introduced into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, on the 1st of March 1831. In the speech made by him explanatory of the proposed Bill, he placed the measure upon three grounds. 1. The ancient constitution of the realm, according to which, he averred, no man was to be taxed for the support of the state, who had not consented, by himself or his representative, to the imposition of taxes. 2. The reason of the thing. Looking on one side, populous and flourishing towns would be seen, abounding in wealth, and constituting some of the great elements of the national greatness, which sent no representative, — while on the other side a green mound, a stone wall, or a park without the vestige of a dwelling, sent each two representatives. What could be more preposterous than such a system of representation? 3. Expediency, which demanded the measure as a concession to the popular interest, without which the machine of government ran the hazard of being shattered in pieces by popular concussion.

It cannot fail to strike the American reader that these are the very arguments, so long and so fruitlessly employed by our ancestors in defending themselves against the aggressions of Parliament Time, that wise and reverend judge of truth, has now stamped its sanction upon the principles for which they contended, and proclaimed its condemnation of the men, who imposed law upon unrepresented subjects of the British Empire. At least, if the Colonies were mistaken in alleging that equal popular representation *was* the princi-

ple of the English constitution, they were borne out in maintaining that it *ought to be* the principle, and in demanding that it should be, as the condition of their continued obedience to Parliament. ‘The whirligig of time brings about his revenges.’ It is refreshing to see the great measure of public justice, a representation of the people, — for demanding which our fathers were cut down as rebels, — now avowed by the English government to be the only constitutional or rational foundation of the authority of Parliament to impose taxes upon the King’s lieges.

In respect of the details of the Bill, Lord John stated that the object of the Ministers was to do away with three great evils, the nomination of members by individuals, their election in close boroughs, and the expenses of elections in general. To accomplish this, the Bill proposed to disfranchise sixty English boroughs, each of less than 2,000 inhabitants, and entitled by prescription to 119 members, — and to deprive forty seven others, having each less than 4,000 inhabitants, of one member each, — thus taking away 168 members from the existing House. It was further proposed to give two members each to seven of the largest unrepresented towns, to twenty others one member, several additional members to London, and two new members each to twenty seven counties. Besides all which, a uniform rule of electoral qualification was provided for the whole Kingdom, the elective franchise being extended to every person, who paid a rent of ten pounds per annum; and various regulations were introduced in reference to the management of elections. Similar changes, although not to the same extent, were proposed for Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

Upon the motion for leave to bring in a Bill

of the tenor above described, a debate of seven nights ensued, in which upwards of seventy members delivered their opinions either for or against the motion, when leave was granted without a division, and the Bill was read for the first time on the 14th of March. But on the second reading of the Bill, on the 21st, a division was had in the fullest House ever assembled, 605 members voting, and there proved to be a majority of one in favor of the Bill. This, although it sustained the Bill, yet did it so feebly as to be tantamount to a defeat. However, the Ministers proceeded with it in a regular course, and on the 18th of April Lord John Russell moved that the House should go into committee upon the subject. In the interval between the 1st of March and 18th of April, some changes had been made in the Bill, in consequence of the discovery of errors in the population-returns, upon which the classification of boroughs and counties was based. Originally, the Bill deprived England of 62 members. This reduction had been somewhat lessened by the changes referred to; but it still continued very considerable. A motion was made by General Gascoyne, in the form of instruction to be given to the Committee, to the effect that it was inexpedient to reduce the number of knights, citizens and burgesses, returned to Parliament for England and Wales; and after debate this motion was decided against the Ministers by a majority of eight; whereupon they declared their intention not to proceed any further with the Bill in the present House. On the 22nd, Parliament was prorogued by the King in person, and the next day writs were issued for a new election, in order, as the royal speech expressed it, to ascertain the sense of the people, in the way in which it could be most constitutionally and authentically expressed, on the expedi-

ency of the proposed changes in the representation.

Extraordinary excitement prevailed in either House at the time of prorogation, and that excitement was communicated to the whole country, on occasion of the appeal made by the King himself to the people on the subject of the Reform Bill. In many places, the dissolution of Parliament was celebrated by illuminations, which, in London, were authorized by the Lord Mayor, and led, unhappily, to attacks on the houses of individuals hostile to reform, such as the Duke of Wellington and Mr Baring. As to the elections, it was impossible to doubt how they would terminate. Sir Robert Inglis, Sir Robert Peel, Sir R. Vyvyan, — in a word all, who had spoken with intelligence in opposition to the Bill, had opposed it as a radical change in the political spirit of the House, an admission therein of an overwhelming addition of democratic influence. Mr Macauley, Mr Jeffrey, Mr Sheil, Mr O'Connell, and the other earnest advocates of the Bill, upheld it as a measure in the interest of the people, the assuring to them of that due weight in the government, which they did not possess in fact, but which they ought in right and reason to possess. The press understood it so, the political clubs and unions so represented it, and the universal people could view it in no other light. Of course, notwithstanding the exertions and sacrifices of the anti-reform party, the election resulted in the choice of a House decidedly and strongly in favor of the Bill.

Parliament met on the 14th of June 1831, and on the 21st the King delivered the customary speech in person, in the very beginning of which he recommended the question of reform to the early and attentive consideration of both Houses.

Accordingly, on the 24th of June the Reform Bill was introduced anew, without a division, and on the 4th of July came up for a second reading, which after some debate was carried by a majority of 136 in favor of the Bill. On the 13th of July the House went into committee on the subject, and was occupied more or less until the 7th of September in a laborious discussion of the details of the Bill. Some further debate upon its general merits followed in the House, so that it did not reach its final stage until the 21st of September, when it was passed by a majority of 109, and the next day carried up to the House of Lords.

The conduct of the Lords in this critical emergency was watched by the reform-party with intense and ominous interest, and by the anti-reformers with corresponding anxiety. Would the Lords relinquish the power they now exercised in the nomination of members of the House of Commons? Would they voluntarily retire from the first to the second place in authority and influence? It was requiring of them a self-sacrificing spirit, a readiness of concession to the popular voice, scarcely conformable to the usual inducements of human action.—And yet would they venture to place themselves in opposition to the will of the people so loudly expressed?—If they did, would they not draw down upon their own order that reforming spirit, which was abroad in England and in Europe?—And what should insure them against being stripped of all the rest of their prescriptive rights, if they clung so tenaciously to this? Men might discover that an hereditary legislative body was equally unjust and unreasonable with a legislative body composed of members nominated by individuals; and, having made the discovery, what should hinder the mak-

ing a practical application of it to the constitution of the House of Lords?

Earl Grey moved the second reading of the Bill on the 3d of October; and in the course of his remarks, he laid much stress on the national demand for the measure, strongly urging the inexpediency, as well as injustice, of the Lords undertaking to set themselves against the public voice on such a question and occasion; and turning to the ecclesiastical members of the House of Lords, he urged upon them, especially, the impolicy of putting in peril their order by opposing in this respect the manifest will of the people of England. The eyes of the country, he said, were upon them; and he called upon them *to set their house in order* and prepare for the coming storm; and to consider seriously what would be the opinion of the country, should a measure, on which the nation had fixed its hopes, be defeated by their votes. This pointed menace, coming as it did from the chief adviser of the King, who, by the English constitution of government, is the head of the church, produced, it may well be supposed, an extraordinary sensation.

But neither the lay nor spiritual peers were disposed to make a voluntary surrender of what they considered necessary to the conservation of their rank and privileges, through fear of immediate consequences. They aptly likened their own condition to that of an armed traveller, who, being assailed by a robber and refusing to give up his purse, should be requested at least to deliver his arms to his assailant; for they well knew that the manifold abuses in the English government depended for their continuance upon the continued power of the aristocracy, and that, were this reduced to its due proportions and strength, a reform of all abuses, and in the interest of

the people, would inevitably follow. It must be confessed that plausible arguments were not wanting to Lord Wharncliffe, Lord Eldon, Lord Lyndhurst, and other peers who opposed the Bill. They truly alleged that now was the crisis of their fate; that the House of Peers was in its very nature the constitutional barrier against rash or dangerous legislation; that it would be culpable dereliction of duty not to act fearlessly and independently upon this question; and that if they did not prove true to themselves and their country in this emergency, the rights and liberties of the people, together with their own properties and titles, would be trampled in the dust.

The Peers divided on the 8th of October, and the division resulted in a majority of 41 against the Bill. It became now a subject of much difficulty to determine what course the Ministers ought to pursue. In ordinary circumstances, the rejection of a cabinet-measure, at least of a measure to which the cabinet were expressly pledged as all important, would be conclusive against their remaining in office. But this seemed to stand on peculiar grounds. The King was fully and cordially with the Ministers; the people and a large majority of the House of Commons were with them; and the Lords alone stood in opposition to the rest of the Kingdom, upon a question of their undue, if not unconstitutional, power. These circumstances seemed to warrant the making the present case an exception to the general rule. In this view of the subject, on the 10th of October the House of Commons pledged themselves to the support of the Ministers by a majority of 131, which was equivalent to a pledge to oppose any who may be appointed in their place, if they resigned in consequence of the rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords. What then should be done?

Meetings were held in various places, which voted addresses to the King praying for the creation of a sufficient number of new peers to carry the Bill; and this undoubtedly was a legal and constitutional, although somewhat exceptionable, mode of meeting the wishes of the people. No great disturbance occurred except at Derby and Nottingham. At Derby, the populace attacked the houses and broke the windows of gentlemen adverse to the reform-cause. At Nottingham, they burnt Nottingham Castle, once a royal residence, now the property of the Duke of Newcastle, who had become particularly odious by his zealous opposition to reform; and also attacked the dwellings of some of other persons of the same political opinions. In London, too, the anti-reformers did not escape insult. The Dukes of Newcastle, Cumberland, and Wellington, and the Marquess of Londonderry, were assaulted, the latter being struck from his horse. These were pretty decided indications of what the English people might happen to do, if the Lords continued to stand in the way of the popular will. These excesses, and the correspondence of some of the Ministers with the organs of a reform-meeting at Birmingham, occasioned very fierce debates in the House of Commons, which on the 20th of October was prorogued, first to the 22nd of November, and afterwards to the 6th of December.

In the intervening period various events transpired, having a very intimate connexion with the question, which now agitated the country. One was the breaking out of a riot at Bristol, more serious than any thing of the kind, which had occurred in England since the famous London riots of 1780 led by Lord George Gordon. Throughout the late debates in the House of Commons, Sir Charles Wetherell, an able, but

wrongheaded, man, who held the judicial office of Recorder of Bristol, had been distinguished for his zealous opposition to the Bill. He arrived at Bristol on Saturday the 29th of October, intending to proceed in the discharge of his judicial duties on the ensuing Monday. He was received with the customary marks of respect by the municipal authorities; but an outrageous mob accompanied his carriage to the Guildhall, and thence to the Mansion-house, where it was usual on such occasions for the magistrates to dine in company. Some stones had already been thrown at the carriage; and when Sir Charles and the municipal authorities reached the Mansion-house, the constables attempted to seize on the prominent rioters, and the riot-act was read; but the peace-officers were overpowered, the Mansion-house stormed and carried, and preparations made for setting it on fire. The Recorder, meanwhile, escaped and left the city, and the Corporation ordered out the military, consisting of two troops of cavalry, in order to disperse the mob. This was effected after the rioters had broken the windows of the Council-house; and the troops then returned to their barracks.

But on the morning of Sunday the mob reassembled in greater force and with augmented audacity. They began by pillaging the Mansion-house from cellar to garret, and in the former, they happened to gain possession of a large quantity of wine and spirituous liquors, which inflamed the fury of mob-violence with the added fury of drunkenness. One of the troops of cavalry now turned out; but owing to the want of decision in the magistrates or want of energy in the commanding officer, it did nothing,—patiently received the showers of missiles directed against it by the mob in punishment of its activity the

night before, — and at length retired, on the assurance of the ringleaders of the rabble that they would commit no further outrages. In retiring, however, to its barracks, this troop was so hotly pressed by the populace, as to be compelled to fire upon them in self-defence. And as the other troop had now stationed itself at the Mansion-house, the mob left that quarter, and proceeded to break open the Bridewell, and the city and county jails, which they set fire to one after the other; and having succeeded in these objects, they next set fire successively to the Bishop's palace, the Mansion-house, the Custom-house, and the Excise-office, thus destroying property to the amount of half a million sterling. At length, on Monday morning, the magistrates and the military seemed to recover their senses, and the streets were cleared by charges of cavalry, and the progress of conflagration was arrested. About sixty persons were killed or wounded in the course of the riots, many of them by reason of intoxication, but the major part by the troops; and a special commission for the trial of the rioters wound up the deplorable scene, as in the case of the disorders of the preceding year.

This affair filled the newspapers for a long time, the reform party throwing all the blame upon the wrongheadedness of Sir Charles Wetherell, and the conservative party holding up the riots as the natural effect of reform-agitation, and of the dissemination of democratic principles among the people. In fact, there was undoubtedly a strong radical and levelling spirit mingled with the desire of legitimate reform. This manifested itself very distinctly in the public meetings of political associations, which became so factious and seditious, that a proclamation was issued by the government denouncing these combinations as unconstitution-

al and illegal. The proclamation could not prevent the formation of such associations ; but it checked the publicity of their action, and threw a damp on their excessive ardor of insubordination. It is scarcely needful to add that Ireland was anything but tranquil at such a period of universal popular excitement. Conflicts occurred from time to time between the troops and the peasantry, in which some blood was spilled, as also a multitude of wordy conflicts between Mr O'Connell with his fellow repealers, and the vice-regal government ;—but nothing happened in Ireland of enormity equal to the riots of Bristol.

Parliament reassembled on the 6th of December ; and in the speech from the throne, now as before, the King recommended the reform-measure to most careful consideration, expressing an opinion that a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the question became, daily, of more pressing importance to the security of the State and to the contentment and welfare of the people. On the 12th of December, Lord John Russell once more introduced the Reform Bill, considerably modified and simplified, and so far changed that no reduction was to take place in the aggregate number of members of the House. It passed to a second reading on the 17th, by a majority of 162, far more of conciliation being exhibited on either side now than during the former debates. The Bill continued under discussion in the House, chiefly upon its details, until the 22nd of March, when it passed to a third reading by a majority of 116, and the next day passed the House. It was taken up in the House of Lords on the 26th of March, and after debate was allowed a second reading on the 13th of April, by a majority of 9 in its favor ; but on the 7th of May, upon a motion of amendment by Lord Lyndhurst, which

the Ministers considered totally adverse to the Bill, they were left in the minority, there being a majority of 35 for the motion of Lord Lyndhurst.

This result produced a crisis of the question, which had been long anticipated, and for which the Ministers and the country were prepared. The House of Lords, persisting in hostility to the Reform Bill, stood in the attitude of settled opposition to the country. A case had come up of collision between the hereditary and the representative elements in the British constitution, the latter having the hearty concurrence of the King. Should the Lords be suffered to triumph in this way over the rest of the states of the Realm?—If the King pursued a course of misrule and oppression, the Commons possessed a constitutional check upon his authority in their power to withhold the supplies. If the Commons manifested a factious and seditious spirit, the King had a constitutional remedy in his power to dissolve the House. In the event of a factious combination among a majority of the Lords to counteract the public wish, did the constitution afford no redress? The Ministers conceived, and the nation maintained, that the remedy in such case lay in the royal prerogative for the creation of peers; for if this remedy did not exist, then, as Lord Grey justly observed, they no longer had a government of King, Lords, and Commons, but were subject to a domineering oligarchy. Accordingly, the Ministers advised the King to create a number of new peers sufficient to shift the majority in the House of Lords to the ministerial side; and in the event of his rejecting their advice, they tendered to him their resignations.

The King, it was well known, was decidedly in favor of the Bill. It was equally well known, that he was averse to exercising the royal prerog-

ative in such a contingency, as an act injurious to the dignity and independence of the Lords. He, therefore, accepted the resignation of Earl Grey and his colleagues; and immediately sent for Lord Lyndhurst, and consulted with him on the means of extrication from the existing difficulty; desiring Lord Lyndhurst to communicate with such persons as he saw fit, with a view to the composition of a new ministry. Lord Lyndhurst repaired first to the Duke of Wellington, who declared that he did not want office, but that he was willing to make any sacrifice, to incur any obloquy, rather than desert the King at such a moment; and if the necessities of public service required it, he was ready to serve in any way most for its advantage. Sir Robert Peel, however, distinctly declared, that it was impossible for him to accept office on condition of carrying an extensive reform in the representation, which the King declared to be the only terms upon which he could make appointments. Nor was Sir Robert Peel alone in his conviction of the gross inconsistency of men doing that in office, which the day before they had opposed as fatal to the best interests of the country, and as a high-handed measure of revolutionary violence. It seemed, therefore, mere madness to attempt the construction of a cabinet of the anti-reform party, to consist only of its inferior members, and with a fierce and overpowering majority against it in the House of Commons.

The question was put at rest by the energetic conduct of the House of Commons. On motion of Lord Ebrington, the House of Commons voted an address to the King, expressing their unabated confidence in the late Ministers, and earnestly imploring him to call to his councils such persons only as would carry into effect, unimpaired in all

its essential provisions, that Bill for the reform of the representation of the people, which had recently passed the House. In the debates which ensued, members of the House spoke in the strongest terms of reprobation of the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and others among his political friends, who could think of taking office on condition of supporting the Reform Bill, after the sentiments they had professed on the subject, and the solemn protest, which some of them had recorded upon the journals. Although the Duke of Wellington vindicated his own motives, by resting his conduct upon a principle of uncalculating loyalty towards his sovereign, and of anxiety to relieve the King from the necessity of stretching the royal prerogative in the appointment of perhaps a hundred peers in order to carry through the Reform Bill, yet, after these proceedings in the House, he became satisfied that it was totally impossible for him or his friends to administer the government, and he so informed the King.

In consequence of this, the King was under the necessity of recalling Earl Grey and his friends to the head of affairs, and of course giving to them authority, if occasion required, to make a large creation of peers. The reinstatement of the Whig Ministers was announced on the 18th of May, a week, only, after their displacement; and on the 18th, Earl Grey moved for the resumption of the Bill on the Monday following, announcing that it was the intention of the cabinet to carry it through unimpaired and at all events, although he refused to explain his intention as to the creation of peers. At the same time it was well understood, that such would be the consequence, if the Lords persisted in their opposition to the measure. Indeed, a special request, on the part of the King, was addressed to the Op-

position Peers, inviting them to abstain from further opposition to the Bill. And the greater portion of them accordingly absented themselves from the House, the Earl of Harewood, one of their number, declaring that he pursued this course as a choice of evils, and, in adopting it, he acted by compulsion, and with a feeling that he could never again vote in that House independently as belonged to his constitutional rank in the State. But in truth the Lords had only themselves to thank for the humiliating position in which they were placed. Burke observes that, 'If there is any one eminent criterion, which, above all the rest, distinguishes a wise government from an administration weak and imprudent, it is this, — Well to know the best time and manner of yielding what it is impossible to keep:' — and the remark applies most emphatically to the Lords, who, by gracefully conceding what they could not retain, might have substituted the influence of popularity for the direct exercise of power. But they absurdly chose to incur the odium of ineffective resistance to the measure, in addition to the inevitable evils of the measure itself, thus holding up their very weakness as a target for the attacks of the press and the people.*

After this, the progress of the Bill in the House of Lords met with no serious obstacle. Some amendments were introduced, which were concurred in by the Commons; and on the 7th of June 1832, the royal assent was given to the Bill. The Irish and Scottish Reform Bills passed also, of course, in the wake of the English Reform Bill; and thus at length was accomplished this great change in the representation of Great Britain and Ireland. It is no part of our purpose to follow the ordinary public business of the year. Suffice

*Bulwer's *England and the English*, vol. i, p. 46.

it to say that the existing Parliament was dissolved on the 3rd of December, in order to the election of a reformed Parliament.

A reform in the representation of the people in Parliament was thus effected. Power had been wrested from the hands of the aristocracy, and transferred to the democracy, of the country. Was this reform in representation, this transfer of power, the end to be attained, or was it the means of attaining an end? Obviously, the change was nothing in itself, and only important in regard of its consequences and operation. At this period, then, we are to date the decided beginnings of a new organization of parties in the British Empire, — those beginnings, which, in all governments having large popular ingredients, are exhibited in the breaking up of old associations, the loosening of ancient ties, the introduction of new combinations of interest, new sets of political questions.

Prominent in the scene, by reason of their wealth, their dignity, their past rank and power, their historical greatness, their firmness and zeal, and it must be avowed also, the ability and vigor of their controversial publications, was the Tory party, under its new name of Conservatives, which possessed the merit of meaning at least, and described the thing which it designated. — This party was divided, however, into two clearly marked sections. One of them was composed of the high-born gentry, pluming itself on its local force in the regions of its territorial possessions and influence, — too proud, confident, and self-relying, to be willing to subject itself to the popular voice. They apprehended from the progress of events the worst consequences of revolution, but preferred to dare its extreme hazard rather than sacrifice their independence of action. In-

dignant at being despoiled, not only of their prescriptive influence, but of the borough privileges which they deemed their property by a tenure as good as that whereby they held their titles or their lands, they resolutely set their faces against all innovation, seeming determined to peril every thing, rather than to relieve the laboring vessel by throwing overboard the cumbrous superfluities of their condition. They believed, with the victor of Waterloo, that Arthur Wellesley, driven to the wall by the march of revolutionary principles, would be more powerful and formidable in the hour of extreme change, than the Duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, submitting to be a passive agent for the registration of the ministerial decrees of Earl Grey. And, forgetful of the character of the times, of the revolution in opinions which two hundred years have wrought, they were too apt to regard the reform-party of 1832, as a second edition of the reform-party of 1642, which might revel awhile in the phrensy of revolutionary intoxication, and then sink into powerless obscurity.—But another section of the Tories, led by Sir Robert Peel, viewed the subject with more correct apprehension of their own position. They knew that popular governments, free governments, cheap governments, were the order of the day all over the civilized world; that mankind no longer walked through life hoodwinked as of old by the artifice of the feudal aristocracy and the clergy; that monarchy had ceased to have any admitted merits except as a convenient form of chief magistracy; and that, in the scramble between ancient abuses and modern reason, which was at hand, it was the part of a wise man to make sure of what he might rationally hope to keep, rather than to run a muck against the irresistible host of the regenerated people. Their line of

policy, therefore, was of calculating and moderate opposition, not of utter and reckless hostility against the Ministers.

Well might the less *exalted* among the Conservatives shrink from the not uncertain possibilities of change, in contemplating the opinions of the party in extreme opposition to themselves, namely, the Radicals in church and state, — and tremble, as they regarded ‘the troubled mirror of the time,’ to see sweep over it ‘the giant shadow of the coming Republic.’ This party, although powerful in its numbers, and formidable from the headlong zeal of men having little to lose and every thing to gain by revolution, had been quite insignificant in Parliament hitherto, and was comparatively weak in the reformed Parliament. — Throughout the reform-agitation, this party had kept steadily in view the ultimate benefits accruing to the poorer and industrious classes of the country as to the point to be gained. Although eager for universal suffrage as the true correlative of universal taxation, and for the vote by ballot as the supposed means of enabling the poor to vote without any risk of incurring the resentment of the rich, they had postponed their wishes in those respects, and joined with the Whigs to obtain such immediate reform as the latter were then disposed to favor, sure that more must speedily follow. Now, having gained the vantage ground, which parliamentary reform afforded, they spoke out plainly and loudly, little heeding the appellation of Revolutionists and Republicans, applied to them in reprobation or ridicule by their adversaries. The ballot and universal suffrage were now still more emphatically demanded. A fair and equal representation of the people, and of the whole people, and nothing less, would satisfy them now; and after that, the Church, the Lords, the

King, would come to be subjected to the test of common sense, that spear of Ithuriel, the unerring criterion of the true, the reasonable, the just. If these traditional institutions of the land could not stand, be it so: — it was time the greater good of the greater number should prevail rather than the sole good of the smaller number. And to this end, retrenchment, — unsparing, regardless of consequences, complete, radical, — was the imperious necessity of the Kingdom, in obedience to which necessity, — if the Colonies or any of them must be abandoned, — if the Bishops must cease to live luxuriously in opulence drawn from the sweat and blood of the people, — if the Lords must be deprived of their hereditary legislative rank, — and if the King should be found to be a mere costly pageant, impotent for good but potent for evil, — why these were consequences, which excited no alarm in their minds; — for was not opulent and powerful America before them, a living proof that Englishmen could be rich and great, without the dear-bought aid of foreign colonies, an established church, an hereditary legislature, or a chief magistrate in right of birth? — This was the growing party, whose progress and future power no man could estimate, but which, unless a mighty genius should arise in the land to infuse new energy into the now sickly frame of its time-worn constitution, might well, at some unforeseen crisis, shake in pieces the fabric of monarchy, and lay in blood the foundations of the second British Commonwealth.

Intermediate between these two parties, were the Whigs, the ministerial party, the English *Juste-Milieu*, who strove to hold the balance between the active opposites, claiming to be allowed the merit of wisdom, moderation, equitable regard for the interests of all, and anxiety to pro-

mote the real good of the country without submitting to have the triumphal car of reform held fast or wheeled back by the Conservatives, or dashed over a precipice by the Radicals. Their policy was, of necessity, fluctuating and uncertain. Sometimes they took to themselves for aid the *vis inertiae* of the aristocracy; sometimes they vibrated over to the opinions, and participated in the movement, of the democracy. In general, however, they professed to favor such reasonable reforms in the administration of the government, as would lighten its burdens and remedy its more flagrant abuses, without changing its principles, or undermining its stability. And possessing an assured majority in the new House of Commons, it remained with them to prove their sincerity by their measures, and to stand or fall by the award of the nation. Subjects now presented themselves, deserving of the profoundest consideration of a wise and patriotic ministry, in the laws of trade, the moral condition of manufacturing and agricultural laborers, the mode of recruiting and governing the army and navy, the administration of the colonies, the tithe-system, the poor laws, the distribution of church-revenue, the national debt, the government and commerce of the East Indies, and so many other objects of long continued corruption and abuse.

Ireland formed a party by itself, and a party of that kind, which is most dangerous to the tranquillity of a government, namely, a national one. Ireland, like Poland, reclaimed her separate nationality. And her people, like the Poles, were united against their conquerors, not only by national recollections, but by religious antipathies. While, therefore, the situation of Ireland urgently called for legislative interference in removal of abuses, which the Whigs admitted to be such,

and avowed their determination to remedy,—they were obliged to struggle against Mr O'Connell and the Repealers following his lead in Parliament, who continually demanded more than the Ministers would or could concede, and waited only for the favorable moment to assail, in form, the Act of Union.

Such were the parties which now divided the British people, and entered side by side upon the new scene of events and agitations consequent upon the passage of the Reform Bill. The public measures of the reformed Parliament do not fall within our plan; and it remains only to make a few pertinent remarks upon the present prospects of the British Empire.

Slight observation of the modern history of England, more particularly under the princes of the House of Hanover, will impart conviction that the effective power in the government has belonged to the aristocracy. An accurate balancing of the three powers exists nowhere but in the Commentaries of Blackstone,—whose theory it was to applaud to the skies every thing as he found it, and to invent or collect plausible reasons for making whatever was appear to be right,—and in the shallow and superficial essay of De Lolme. In truth, a machine, composed of three counteracting forces, each equal to each of the others, must inevitably stand still. It can acquire movement only by the preponderance of one of the powers. They may be partially reconciled, and made to act together, but it must be under the impulsion of one of the three. And so it was in England. The King was but the nominal head of the realm, possessing, practically, less of independent power than the President of the United States. His Ministers were the responsible and the actual executive authority of

the Kingdom. And the Ministers themselves were a mere committee of the aristocracy, who, having control of the House of Commons through the nomination of so many of its members, in reality governed the Kingdom by means of the selfish combinations among themselves, which alternately dictated to the King.

But the preponderance, in this constitution of imaginary balances, now belongs to the democracy. During the progress of the French Revolution, the English people were thoroughly *mystified* by the aristocracy, so that, after some indications of sympathy with the popular movement on the Continent, the English were stirred up into unaccountable quixotry in favor of royalty in the abstract, and a furious war of crusading aggressions against the French. The cause of parliamentary reform was, at that time, in eclipse. With all their boast of a free constitution and a public deliberative assembly, the English were so bound up in the narrow circle of their insular prejudices, that they wilfully shut their eyes upon the light, and gave themselves unresistingly over to a strong delusion. Harrington, and Milton, and Locke, and Sidney, were political classics in America, but not in England ; and when Paine's 'Rights of Man' was indicted as a seditious libel, it availed the accused party nothing for Erskine to show, as he did, that the most reprehensible doctrines and principles of that work flowed from the pure 'wells undefiled' of the English liberties and language.* The Revolution of the Three Days found a prodigious change effected in the minds of the people of Great Britain. The scales had now fallen from their eyes. They knew that they were ground into the earth by the pressure of an enormous national debt, contracted in warring

* Erskine's Speeches at the Bar, vol. i.

against their brethren in North America, and against their own cause, the cause of the universal people, in Europe as well as America. They saw the resources of the State squandered to pamper the pride and feed the extravagance of the aristocratic class, while themselves were starving on potatoes and pulse, although it was their industry alone which gave to the nation its public wealth. They felt that in them was the physical force of the country, and with them the moral right; and that it needed only the breath of their voices, like the Jewish trumpets before Jericho, to shake down the walls of oligarchy, and give them free passage to the citadel of power. From that moment the progress of freedom in France, instead of rousing the English into hostility against their neighbors, served only to impel them on to the tardy but sure establishment of the like freedom in England.

Among the most original and striking views of the Reform Bill, and the most fruitful of reflection, is that of Mr Edward Everett, who regards it in the light of an abandonment of the principle of prescription, as the basis on which the House of Commons was constituted, and the substitution therefor of reason, tested by the sense of the people. And the sense of the people, in reference to the general subject of government, is indicated by one fact, amid a multitude of others, which may well attract the attention of an American. It is the multiplication of elaborate works upon the United States, and the popularity they possess in Great Britain, especially if they be well seasoned with libellous ingredients, and written with the avowed purpose of depreciating our institutions.* The

* The following have come under my notice: how many more there may be I know not.
Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans. 1832.

publication in England, within the last two years, of a dozen books of travels in the United States, would prove, without further examination, a craving need of information on the subject. Nay, Mrs Trollope's celebrity as the calumniator of America has sufficed to give being and currency to two of the meanest and poorest of the works of fiction, which enter for so much into the turbid stream flowing forth of the presses of England and the United States. And the ablest of this series of prelections on America, that of the author of *Cyril Thornton*, like the older work of Basil Hall, satisfactorily explains the secret of their number. The English are coming to entertain a strong predilection for cheap representative governments, casting, of course, an eye of eager observation upon what Mr Bulwer calls 'the magnificent opulence of North America.' Of consequence, while one party reads with avidity whatever is written concerning America from the desire of information, the other makes America the text book for high wrought essays on the badness of governments instituted for the general good, administered for the general good, and accomplishing the general good. But the people of Britain and Ireland well understand this; and it is easy to conceive why the theatre of Dublin, on a recent occasion, rang with plaudits at the casual mention of the name of Washington.

Vigne, *Six Months in America*. 1832.

Ferrall, *Rambles through the United States*. 1832.

Murat, *Sketches of the United States*. 1833.

Ferguson, *Notes on Canada and the United States*. 1833.

Stuart, *Three Years in North America*. 1833.

Fidler, *Observations in the United States and Canada*. 1833.

Coke, *Subaltern's Furlough in the United States*. 1833.

Maekenzie, *Sketches of Canada and the United States*. 1833.

Duhring, *Remarks on the United States*. 1833.

The Americans, by an American in London. 1833.

Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America*. 1833.

CHAPTER XII.

Conclusion.—Settlement of Greece.—The Pacha of Egypt.—State of Turkey.—Conquest of Syria.—Portugal.—Alliance of Great Britain and France.—Foreign Politics of France.—Italy.—Poland.—Domestic Politics.—La Fayette.—The Students.—Riots of February.—The Périer Cabinet.—Anniversary of the Three Days.—New Chambers.—The Peerage.—Banishment of the Bourbons.—Riots at Lyons.—Civil List.—The Newspaper Press.—Conspiracies.—Death of Périer.—Funeral of Lamarque.—State of Siege.—La Vendée.—The Duchess of Berri.—State of Parties.—Anticipations.

THE Revolution of the Three Days was a popular movement, a spontaneous insurrection of the French people in the interests of France. It restored to power the men of the Republic and the Empire: it drove out of power the men and the principles of the Restoration. Strive as men will to disguise the fact, declaim as they may on the opposition between the cabinets of Louis Philippe and the doctrines of the Three Days, still the grand truth remains visibly before us, that revolution as such then resumed its influence in France and in Europe. We have traced the progress of the revolutionary spirit in those countries, where the cry of victory from the heroes of July found an echo; we have seen its effects in Belgium and England, deeply and permanently changed for the better in political condition by its means; we have seen it beaten down and suppressed in Spain, Italy, and Poland; we still see it steadily at work in Germany and Switzerland. But our view of the subject would be lame and imperfect, if we did not recur for a moment to the course of events in France subsequently to the enthronement of Louis Philippe,

and consider the question of his alleged abandonment of the principles of the Three Days. In fine, the present condition of the French, as the fruit of the Revolution, as indicative of the direction wherein it has impelled the people and the government, constitutes the appropriate conclusion of this Review.

Let us pause a moment on the threshold, to contemplate some few points in the cotemporary history of Europe, which have not yet been touched, but which bear upon the foreign policy of France. These are the final settlement of the Greek question, and the civil wars in Portugal and Turkey, — all, it may well be supposed, incidentally affected by the spread of liberal opinions consequent on the Three Days, though by no means part and parcel of that grand popular movement, like the political changes of the period elsewhere in Europe.

As for Greece, its destiny was long since a thing resolved. Whatever purpose Russia might have entertained, of extending her dominion in that quarter, circumstances had compelled her to relinquish it, while at the same time new prospects of ambition were opened to her in other parts of the Turkish Empire. Neither England nor France could contentedly see the Northern Colossus, with one foot on the shores of the Mediterranean and the other at the Arctic Sea, overstriding Europe. They interposed, efficaciously, and in season, so as to prevent this dreaded, and not impossible, consummation. Nor could the arts of Count Capo d'Istrias avail to give permanent ascendancy to Russian influence in the Morea and the Islands. Leopold, to be sure, might suffer himself to be terrified into loosening his hold of the sceptre he had clutched; but neither France nor Britain did for that depart from its determina-

tion to see constituted in Greece a really neutral State, wherein they should find scope for influence equally with Russia. The timely turbulence of the chiefs of Maina, in occasioning the violent death of Capo d'Istrias in October of 1831, removed one great obstacle to the final adjustment of the question in a manner satisfactory to Western Europe. All things now conspired to prompt the speedy selection of a sovereign for Greece, on the same principles, which had led to the nomination of Leopold in 1830. Such absolute anarchy had possession of the Greeks at present, that the well disposed among them gladly submitted to the dictation of the Allies. They pitched upon the boy Otho, a son of the King of Bavaria, to be King of Greece, again recurring in this matter to Germany, once the workshop of nations, — *officina gentium*, — but now only the workshop of kings and queens, having, in its numerous sovereign houses, an ample surplus supply of that material at all times on hand ready to meet any extra demand in the rest of Europe. By treaty concluded in May 1832, the three Powers, England, France, and Russia, made arrangements in concurrence with Bavaria, and with the assent of the Greek National Assembly, for the establishment and support of the new King, Bavaria furnishing him with troops, and the other Powers with a loan of money, part of which was appropriated to indemnifying the Porte for a forced extension of the Greek frontier to the gulfs of Arta and Voto. Otho embarked for Napoli in December, to restore, if it might be, the reign of peace and prosperity in the Morea, and give back to Athens its traditional part in the affairs of Greece.

While the restoration of Greece, thus at last accomplished, lopped off one of its conquests from

the Ottoman Empire, events were occurring in other parts of it, which seemed to threaten its utter dissolution. The navy of the Porte had been destroyed at Navarino. The Sultan was thoroughly humbled by the victorious Russians, whose policy suffered his power to linger on through a sickly existence prostrate at their feet, independent only in name, and but the puppet in fact of the rival States of Christendom. Just then the Pacha of Egypt, who had faithfully served the Porte in its troubles until nearly one half of the Empire of the Caliphs had fallen to his share in the shape of conquest or recompense, stretched out his hand upon Syria, so naturally associated in political fortunes with Arabia and Egypt. Not without some reason, indeed, the ancients reckoned Egypt a part of Asia rather than Africa.* Its population is now, like that of Syria, mainly Arabian.† And remembering the condition of the Mahometan Kingdom of Egypt, when the crusaders first made it known to modern Europeans,—that it was the great Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, who ruled and defended the Holy Land, when Richard of England and Philip of France led the third Crusade,—that it was in proceeding by the way of Damietta that Saint Louis sought to effect the deliverance of Jerusalem, — calling to mind these our very elementary ideas of modern Egypt, we shall readily conceive how invitingly Acre, Jerusalem, and Damascus lay as it were under the very eye of Mohammed-Ali.

Certainly it has not been want of power, nor any blindness to his own consequence, which so long restrained the Pacha of Egypt from establishing an independent monarchy on the Nile.

* Pompon. Mela, de Situ Orbis, lib. ix, cap. 9.

† Russell's Ancient and Modern Egypt, p. 227.

Far in advance of the Porte in all the arts of government and of civilization, having educed order out of chaos, possessing an army and a marine organized after the European model, with abundant pecuniary means, and a country so tranquil that travellers may pass unmolested from Alexandria to Syene as they would in the civilized States of Christendom, — Mohammed-Ali still divided his resources, whether pecuniary or military, with the Sultan, and of himself upheld the sinking religion of the Prophet in the very land of its origin. During so long a period, while the Viceroy might at any hour have defied the Porte, he faithfully served its interests, and after subduing the Wahabees in Arabia, undertook, and but for the interposition of the three Powers would have accomplished, the reconquest of Greece. Ample evidence of his disposition to act in obedience to the general policy of the Divan occurs repeatedly in the pages of Planat's *Regeneration of Egypt*.* Indeed what stronger proofs of this could he render than to hazard his troops and his navy upon the fortune of war at Missolonghi and Navarino?

Seriously as Mohammed-Ali suffered by the destruction of the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet in the battle of Navarino, he did not come out of the war wholly gainless. Candia fell into his hands, quite as much from the incapacity of the Sultan to retain it himself, as on account of the merits and losses of Ali in the contest with Greece. In this instance, as in others, the weakness of the Porte was the strength of Mohammed-Ali, as became more signally apparent after the Russians dictated to Mahmoud their own terms of peace in his city of Adrianople.

* See, for instance, Letters xxiv, xxx and xxxv, pp. 185, 222 and 314. See, also, Dekay's *Turkey*, p. 457.

Mahmoud's humiliation arose from his being the unsuccessful emulator of the Viceroy of Egypt in reforming the civil and military administration of the Empire. The Russians fell upon him, already exhausted by the Greek war, when his army was in the state of transition from the Turkish to the Christian organization, possessing neither the barbaric bravery of ignorance and bigotry, nor the steady confidence of regular discipline. The same cause filled the Empire with confusion, and unloosed its frame, after the conclusion of peace with Russia. While the rest of Europe was agitated by the efforts of the people to introduce regularity, stability, and equality into the administration of justice, and to abridge the arbitrary authority of their rulers, — Turkey, on the contrary, was convulsed by opposition, from various quarters, to the liberalized and enlarged policy of Sultan Mahmoud. He had learned wisdom by fatal experience. He saw that public prosperity depends on the just and equitable administration of government, and that it is incompatible with the system of irresponsible exaction and petty provincial tyranny, which had so long disgraced the Turkish name. He was conscious that his people were far behind the subjects of his Christian foes in all the arts of life, even the art of war, the peculiar boast and pride of the Ottomans. And he was ambitious to place his Empire on a level with the great powers of Christendom. Many of his reforms came, of course, in collision with the interest of the powerful dependants of the Porte in the distant Pachalics; many others offended the prejudices of the well disposed, but bigoted and ignorant, among the subjects of his authority in every part of the Empire.

His anxiety to reform the discipline, equip-

ment, and organization of his troops, is known to all the world. The repugnance of the troops themselves to submit to the new regulations has always constituted a serious obstacle to his progress in this respect. European costume and European discipline scandalize the ignorance and pride of the Turks, who cannot distinguish between the religion and barbarism which they inherit from their forefathers, and who think that the maintenance of the former depends upon the perpetuity of the latter, even in the dress and equipments of the army, quite as much as in fundamental principles of faith. These feelings contribute to the continued existence of materials of discord and civil commotion in the Turkish Empire; but its domestic troubles have arisen more immediately from the operation of Mahmoud's improvements upon the great functionaries of the Empire.

Mahmoud's first object, very naturally, was to give European efficiency to his troops, the main dependance of every despotism in every age, whether Pagan, Mahometan, or Christian. This was equally essential to the protection of his Empire against foreign aggression, and of himself against internal foes. Next to this, it was all important to reform the civil and military administration of the provinces, the abuses in which constituted the chief causes of the decay and degradation of Turkey. To this end, he labored to render the armies every where directly responsible to the head of the Empire, as in civilized Europe, instead of allowing them to be the means of local independence to the various Pachas. He anxiously endeavored, also, to impart fixedness and regularity to the finances of the Empire,—to make the revenue depend on the collection of the imposts by accountable agents,

instead of being derived through the arbitrary exactions of the Pachas, and instead of being a share, as it were, of the spoils they pillaged from the people. In the new state of things, at which he has been aiming, the military authority in the provinces would be separated from the civil administration; the Pachas would receive specific and limited appointments, instead of being left to desolate their governments by arbitrary exactions; the domestic organization of the Empire, in short, would be made to resemble that of civilized communities in general, instead of being a monstrous anomaly, a byword of tyranny and misrule in all Europe.

The successful accomplishment of these administrative reforms would be a blessing beyond all calculation to the subjects of the Porte. But their introduction is fatal to the consequence of the Pachas. From being, as it were, mighty princes, with full power to enrich themselves, if they please, by the strip and waste of the kingdoms they govern; or with the means of rendering themselves practically independent of their master, like Djezzar Pacha of Acre or Ali Pacha of Joannina;—instead of being thus situated, they will be reduced to simple governors of provinces, with but temporary, or at any rate well defined power, and completely subject to the authority of the Sultan. These considerations are assigned as explanatory of the distracted state of some of the Turkish provinces, and the open rebellion of others, subsequently to the peace of Adrianople. In Europe, the most alarming and serious revolt was that of the Pacha of Albania. But the troubles in Rumelia and elsewhere, occasioned by the Pacha of Albania, great as they were, yielded in consequence to those in the eastern extremity of the Empire, where Daoud, Pa-

cha of Bagdad, raised the standard of rebellion. In consequence of this, the Pacha of Aleppo was charged to assemble all the disposable forces in his territory, and march against Daoud; and lest his resources should prove insufficient, Mohammed-Ali was commanded to send reinforcements from Egypt. These preparations enabled the Porte to overcome Daoud in a battle before Moussoul, but they proved the origin of greater evils, by introducing the Viceroy of Egypt into the affairs of Syria.

Pretexts were not long wanting, to induce Mohammed-Ali to set forward on his own account. A quarrel arising between him and Abdallah, Pacha of Saint John of Acre, he caused Ibrahim to march into Syria at the head of a powerful army, supported by a corresponding maritime force, and to lay close siege to Acre. Abdallah obstinately held out against Ibrahim for the space of several months, and until Acre was reduced to a heap of ruins. Meanwhile the Porte, having vainly endeavored to put an end to the contest by peaceful means, saw itself compelled at last to treat Mahommed-Ali as a refractory rebel. Osman Pacha advanced as far as Tripoli in order to relieve Abdallah; but was forced to turn back precipitately, leaving his baggage and munitions in the hands of the Egyptians. Upon this, Abdallah, being reduced to the last extremity, capitulated, in May 1832; and Ibrahim, acting now in open defiance of the Porte, marched on boldly to Damascus, and thence to Aleppo, which he entered, after beating a large Turkish army, on the 8th July, at Homs. But little space now intervened between Ibrahim and the northern limits of Syria. The Porte, having become seriously alarmed, had assembled a formidable army at Beilan, between Antioch and

Scanderoon, under the command of Hussein Pacha, to guard the passes of Mount Taurus. Ibrahim encountered the Turks on the 29th July, gained a complete victory, and passing the ridge of Taurus, descended into the vallies of Asia Minor.

What should prevent the Egyptians from pushing on to make themselves masters of Constantinople? They had triumphantly traversed Syria, sweeping the armies of the Sultan from their path; they had planted themselves in the heart of Caramania; and there remained, between them and the shores of the Bosphorus, only the fertile provinces of Anatolia, the richest of the Asiatic possessions of the Porte. Despite all the spasmodic struggles of the Sultan to avert his fate by arresting the progress of the Egyptians, they gradually advanced towards Constantinople. The power of the Sultan was in fact gone: consternation and confusion filled the capital, anarchy and civil war desolated the provinces, and every thing seemed to presage the falling to pieces of the Ottoman Empire. And it must have done so, but for the extraordinary, — we may say marvellous, — resolution of the Sultan, to place Constantinople and the Empire under the protection of the Russians. Great Britain and France began to see, when too late, that the Czar had been amusing them with Belgian politics, stretching out ‘the line’ of protocols well nigh to ‘the crack of doom,’ — while he had been more profitably employed in preparing to rescue the Sultan from the grasp of the Viceroy of Egypt. France and England then did what they could to prevent Russia from thus becoming altogether supreme in the Levant. But the Russian armies were already in Constantinople; and the constitutional States of Western Europe were fain to play a secondary part in the measures of

mingled force and accommodation, which led the Viceroy of Egypt to recal his armies when they had as it were achieved the conquest of Asiatic Turkey, and to rest content with the legalized possession of Syria.

In their policy respecting Greece, Egypt, and Turkey, we thus perceive revolutionised France and reformed Britain cordially acting together for the purpose of maintaining a counterpoize in the Levant against the ambition of Russia. It corresponds to what we have seen of their joint policy in the case of the Netherlands; and it is the same in respect of Portugal. Whatever may be the merits of the legal question involved in the controversy between Pedro and Miguel, — and legal merits there undoubtedly are in the pretensions of Don Miguel, — as a political question, a question of party, it is a controversy between the Constitutionalists and Absolutists.* The forces, military and naval, which Pedro has recruited, — the munitions which he has collected, — have been recruited and collected in France and Britain, by the connivance of the governments of the two countries. The Duke of Wellington, upon occasions not rare, has manifested his feelings on the subject; and the position of Marshal Bourmont at the head of Miguel's army speaks aloud for the views of the ultra-royalist party in France. In fact, the interest of the French and English governments in behalf of the young Queen of Portugal is a *constitutional* interest, which would not have existed in either Kingdom but for the Revolution of the Three Days.

In their European policy generally, we repeat, there is evidence of settled cooperation be-

* See Young's Portugal in 1828 ; Walton's Letter to Sir James Mackintosh on the Affairs of Portugal ; and Falcao's *Etat actuel de la Monarchie Portugaise*.

tween Great Britain and France, and this with a marked tendency to favor liberal principles. How far the influence of M. de Talleyrand, the representative of Louis Philippe at the court of Saint James, sways the foreign policy of the two nations, is a question, as to which the Opposition in each country is probably betrayed into much exaggeration. Except in the matter of Algiers, however, there seems to be no ground of dispute between England and France. The correspondence of Mr Rives with his government, while he was Minister of the United States in Paris, contains very striking proofs of the deep anxiety felt on this subject by each of the two nations at one period;* but the idea of England having just cause of umbrage in consequence of the retention of Algiers by France is almost ludicrously preposterous. It is impossible this should interrupt their friendly relations.

Having these preliminary considerations before us, we may look, with intelligence, into the groupings of party-opinion in France touching foreign affairs, as they rose to the surface during the year and a half succeeding the Threc Days.

In the discussions of the press and in the votes and speeches of the Deputies, it was easy to discriminate four parties, all clearly defined. The friends of the reigning dynasty, of the present order of things, and of peace with foreign nations even at some hazard to the national honor, constituted, it would seem, the majority of the Deputies, and therefore gave the tone to the acts of the Government. The Carlists were powerful from their unitedness, their talents, and their standing in the community, although less numer-

* Message of the President concerning French Spoliations, Doc. No. 142, H. of Rep. 2nd Ses. 2nd Congress, p. 137.

ous than the Orleanists, if we may so call the zealous adherents of Louis Philippe and the *juste milieu* system. The Republicans, including those friends of monarchy who were for limiting the royal authority still more than at present, by giving additional vigor to the liberal elements of the constitution, were in high repute with the people, and were next in visible influence to the administration-party. Finally came the Bonapartists, who were far from being a small or powerless party. In the elections, and perhaps we may say in ordinary proceeding of a public nature, the two latter parties often acted together against the two former. But in times of confusion, whenever there was the least prospect of endangering or embarrassing the authority of Louis Philippe, the Bonapartist and Carlist parties appear to have lent their aid and exerted their influence, wherever their united strength could accomplish the most mischief; and thus it is, in political matters, that extremes act together in the promotion of the most opposite and irreconcilable purposes.

Independently of the affairs of Belgium, there were two great topics of foreign policy, which gave frequent occasion for disquisition in the Chambers, and excited the deepest interest among all the intelligent classes in France. These were the affairs of Poland and of Italy.

In regard to Italy, it is undeniable that the patriots in Lombardy and the Roman State not only were incited to take up arms against their rulers by the example of France, but received some encouragement in their undertaking from responsible sources in that country. When, therefore, Austria marched her troops into the disturbed cities and districts, in violation of the principle of non-intervention, and thus suppressed, or enabled the local authorities to suppress,

popular movements, which otherwise might have ended in revolutionizing Italy, the revolutionary party in France demanded of their government that the proceedings of Austria should be taken as a ground of war, and in fact, as a declaration of war against the Revolution of the Three Days. But the French Ministers adhered unchangeably to their pacific policy, and contented themselves with remonstrances against the conduct of Austria, and with insisting that her troops should evacuate the Papal territory, and other parts of Italy which they had invaded. Austria, of course, made the fairest promises in the world, and withdrew her troops after the short period, which was necessary to effect the object of apprehending the leading patriots, and reestablishing the *legitimate* rulers in their ill-used authority.

In regard to Poland, the question of international law presented was a very different one from that of Italy, and the conduct of the French Ministers was dictated by somewhat different principles. Austria interfered, in Italy, between the subjects and the rulers of countries over which she had no right of control. They were independent states, however small they might be, and however dangerous their example to the Italian subjects of Austria. Of course, the conduct of the Emperor was clearly an act of intervention. Nicholas, on the other hand, marched his armies into Poland, in order to reclaim his subjects to their allegiance; and if France had engaged in war in behalf of the Poles, here would have been intervention, — an intervention necessarily implying the invasion of Prussia and the Germanic States, and of course involving France in war with Prussia and Austria as well as Russia. Admitting, therefore, that the Russians had contemplated the invasion of Belgium, and perhaps of France, in a

war against liberal principles, — and that the Polish insurrection was all that saved the French from this contest, — yet for France to have commenced hostilities in this behalf would have been to kindle the flames of war throughout Europe, and might have been disastrous to France herself in the same proportion that it was beneficial to the Poles.

While, therefore, it is impossible to applaud the conduct of Louis Philippe's advisers as to Italy, it seems equally impossible to condemn pointedly their conduct in the case of Poland, in so far as regards their abstinence from war in her behalf. If, as the Poles allege, they were indirectly sacrificed by means of the negotiations and secret proceedings between France and England on the one side and Russia on the other, then indeed have the French Ministers much to answer for to the world and to posterity. At the same time, it should be avowed that their procedure in regard to Belgium was prompt, decided, and honorable. And we should bear in mind, also, in considering the foreign policy of Louis Philippe, his vigor in punishing some of the outrages of Don Miguel upon citizens of France, and his liberality in discharging the claims of the United States, as illustrating, in contrasted force, the sense of honor and the sense of justice, which should ever direct the councils of a magnanimous prince.

We broke off the domestic history of France near the close of the year 1830, at a period when the great parties, into which the men of the Revolution were to be divided, were just beginning to gain their developement. As in the external, so in the internal, politics of the country, a brief recapitulation of the leading events, which have happened since that time, will fitly introduce the

reader to what remains for the understanding of the political condition of the present time, and the actual state of parties within the Kingdom.

During the trial of the ex-ministers of Charles X, La Fayette had prodigally thrown all his personal popularity into the scale of public order, and contributed, in no mean degree, to rescue the monarchy from its extreme peril. The Chambers were employed at this time in the permanent organization of the National Guards, and were disposed to abolish the office of Commander in Chief of that body, which had been created at the epoch of the Three Days, and bestowed on La Fayette. It was one of the first fruits of the counter-revolutionary reaction, which followed the successful conclusion of the trials, and the suppression of the riots of December, to diminish the power of the republican patriot, honorably as he had used it in behalf of the new King. La Fayette, perceiving, undoubtedly, the tendency of the government to disappoint the expectations of himself and his friends, and unwilling to lend the popularity of his name to a cause which he could no longer heartily approve, resigned the command of the great civic army, feeling this post, as he said, to be inconsistent with the theory of a constitutional monarchy. The Count de Lobau succeeded him as commander of the National Guards of Paris only. The retirement of La Fayette was accompanied by that of M. Dupont de l'Eure, the great party, of which they were the most honorable and trusted members, being thus placed in direct opposition to Louis Philippe.

The revolutionary spirit, manifested by the students of Paris on several occasions, induced the government to take measures to prevent their assembling in organized bodies, as they had been

accustomed to do. This measure was, of course, the topic of very angry remark, and the occasion of much excitement among a class of persons, who felt themselves inseparably associated with the events of July, and who took great merit to themselves on that account, as well as for the *countenance*, so to speak, which they had recently afforded the King. During the disturbances of December, the mob labored hard to persuade the students to place themselves at the head of the movement; and had they done so, and thus united their science and enthusiasm with the physical force of the artizans of the faubourgs, it is impossible to say what might have been the result. They not only refused to do this, but proceeded, to the number of eight or ten thousand young men, to tender their services to the King to assist in the preservation of order. Now, they alleged that he gave them, on that occasion, certain assurances of making concessions to the cause of liberty, which they accepted as the condition of their refusal to cooperate with the populace. Indeed, the Chamber of Deputies went so far as to associate the students with the National Guards, in a vote of thanks passed in view of the maintenance of the public peace. These ill-judged compliments to mere spontaneous combinations of students had the effect, which might naturally have been anticipated, of rendering measures of rigor necessary to cure the presumption of such beardless politicians. These youths of the schools, not content with having volunteered their skill in defence of the Charter and in warding off the assaults of usurpation in July, — not content with being the propagandists of liberty in the Netherlands*, — seemed

* Histoire complète de la Révolution de Bruxelles et des Pays-Bas, p. 74.

to think they had a permanent revolutionary mission for all Europe.

Hitherto, the difficulties of the government had arisen from the excesses and effervescence of the men of July; but in February, the Carlists came on the scene in shape of disturbers of the peace. They availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them by the celebration of religious services in memory of the Duke of Berri, to undertake to pay some fantastic honors to the bust of the Duke of Bordeaux. This act of folly and infatuation was to be performed in the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. It served to draw the popular vengeance upon the clergy, and occasioned a general burst of indignation in Paris, threatening the most fatal consequences. The mob attacked the Archbishop's palace, raised anew the ominous cry of 'à la lanterne,' and made havoc of the *fleurs de lis* and of the crosses on the edifices and monuments. Indeed, to prevent the public monuments from being needlessly injured in the attempt to deface the obnoxious symbols, the government saw itself compelled to interpose, and to remove these itself; and arrests followed among the members of the Carlist party, who had thus wantonly outraged the public sense by their ill-timed manifestation of attachment to the dethroned dynasty.

On the 13th of March a change took place in the ministry, less favorable to the republican party, and to the extension of the principles of the Three Days, than any of its predecessors since that period. M. Casimir Périer became President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, Baron Louis Minister of Finance, M. Barthe of Justice, the Count de Montalivet of Public Instruction, the Count d'Argout of Commerce, and Admiral de Rigny of the Marine. The insolvency of M.

Lafitte, occasioned in part by the events of the late Revolution, rendered his withdrawal from the ministry necessary and proper, to be succeeded, however, by another banker, — a class of persons who seemed to possess a very decided, not to say undue, share of influence in the public affairs of France. From this time, M. Périer, as the representative of the stationary party, is to be considered the effective head of the government.

In April the Chambers were prorogued by the King after a session of eight months' duration, beginning with the establishment of the present dynasty on the throne. The acts of the Legislature during this period had been of incalculable importance; but, in the opinion of a numerous party in the nation, it deserved as much censure for what it had left undone, as praise for what it had done. Parties had become very decidedly pronounced upon the great questions of public policy, in the existing Chamber of Deputies; but the nation called for a dissolution of this body, in order that a new one might be elected, under the amended Charter and laws of the present time. This dissolution speedily took place, and the Chambers were summoned to meet for despatch of business on the 22nd of July.

Efforts were made, in all quarters, by each of the great parties which divided France, to return Deputies conformable to its own view of the public good. The King made a tour of some of the Departments, and was well received wherever he went, so as to come back after a very triumphant and gratifying progress among his subjects. The result of the elections proved quite as favorable to the Ministers as had been expected, and more so than had been feared. For although Odillon Barrot was chosen for five *arrondissements*, and Lafitte for four, yet Casimir Périer was

chosen for three, thus showing that popularity was not confined to the party of movement. It very frequently happened, however, that the Carlist party united with the government party, so that both together proved an overmatch for the Republicans, although neither would have been so alone. Of domestic questions, bearing upon the elections, the most exciting was that in regard to the peerage. It was the wish of a vast majority of the nation to take away from the peerage the quality of being hereditary, and the elections frequently turned upon this point.

Much anxiety had been felt at Paris in anticipation of the anniversary of the Three Days, which, considering the inflammable state of the people, and the readiness they had so frequently exhibited to engage in riots, it was feared would be rendered a scene of outrage and disorder. It passed off, however, in universal joy and harmony, and without any movement of a revolutionary nature, or any attempts at disturbance. The first day was devoted to mourning for the dead. Funeral masses were celebrated in all the churches of the metropolis, and in front of them were suspended large black cloths, inscribed 'Aux victimes de Juillet 1830.'—The second was a day of civic festivity. — The third was celebrated as a grand military fête, and was closed with a review of the troops of the line and of the National Guard to the number of 120,000 men. In short, although the popular voice was not with the King at this time, yet the people allowed no open manifestations of discontent or disloyalty to mar this festive commemoration of the great triumph of the principles of liberty.

When the Chambers assembled, their early proceedings were looked to with much anxiety, as indicative of the party opinions of the mem-

bers. Casimir Périer had always declared that, if a majority of the Chamber of Deputies were against him, or their conduct were such as to betray want of confidence in him, he should retire from the ministry. The election of the President of the Chamber was understood by all to be the test, by which the temper of that body was to be determined, M. Lafitte being the candidate of the Opposition, and M. Girod de l'Ain of the ministerial party. At the first ballot, it appeared that Lafitte had 168 votes, and Girod de l'Ain 171, but neither of them a majority of the members present, which was necessary to constitute a choice. On the second ballot, there being 359 members present, Girod de l'Ain had 181 votes, Lafitte 176, and Dupont de l'Eure 1; so that Girod de l'Ain was declared to be elected. Although the Ministers had thus gained the victory, yet it was by so small a majority that they considered it equivalent to a defeat, and M. Périer accordingly resigned, with several of his associates. But, on receiving intelligence of the invasion of Belgium by Holland, he was induced, in view of the urgent necessities of the government, to resume his office, and await the demonstrations of the Chamber on the subject of the customary address to the King. M. Périer soon found, on coming to discuss the address in answer to the King's speech, that his purpose of surrendering the helm of state to the movement-party was altogether premature and uncalled for, inasmuch as the vote upon the subject showed the general policy of the Ministers to be possessed of overwhelming strength in the Chamber. And the struggle, at this time, was quite decisive of the permanency of the existing cabinet. M. Périer, and his associates of the Administration, made up a distinct issue with the Opposition upon

the great questions of domestic and foreign politics, which then occupied the attention of the French. The Ministers averred that the Charter of 1830 was the record of their political creed. They stood ready to carry the principles of liberalism to the utmost verge of that instrument, but there they were determined to stop. It was for the Chambers, for France, to say, whether the nation demanded, or could sustain, the shock of a new series of revolutionary agitations; or whether, content with a faithful and firm, but liberal, administration of the government in accordance with the provisions of that Charter, tranquillity should be given to the people and with it prosperity to the country. The vote of the Chambers upon the address rendered it certain that the party of moderation, of resistance to change, of peace abroad and stability at home, was thenceforth, for a time at least, to control the destinies of France.

This matter being thus determined, the Ministers proceeded to evince their disposition to concede everything to the popular party, which the Charter of 1830 had contemplated. In settling the constitutional changes of that epoch, and in transferring the crown to its present possessor, the Chamber of Deputies, as the immediate representatives of the people, had conducted with little deference for the Chamber of Peers. Indeed, the Peers, it was apparent, had no substantive power, and were under the necessity of following in the wake of the Deputies whithersoever the latter might choose to lead. They had submitted, with murmuring but unresisting acquiescence, to the *unpeering* of the peers created by Charles X. They had accepted the *Charte-Bérard*, notwithstanding the provision it contained that the constitution of the peerage should be

revised at a future meeting of the Chambers. The time was now arrived to complete the unfinished work of the Three Days, and meet the requisitions of the country, by remodelling the Chamber of Peers. It was a task, which the Ministers undertook from no good will of their own, but rather because they felt it to be impossible safely to refuse themselves to it, and because it was due to their consistency as the professed maintainers of the principles of the Charter,—of no more and of no less,—of movement so far as this carried them, and of unshaken constancy of station at that point.

In introducing the measure to the Chamber of Deputies, M. Périer confessed the indisposition of the Ministers, acting upon their own personal convictions, to make any essential change in the constitution of the Chamber of Peers. But the hereditary quality of the Peerage was odious to the nation, which demanded its abolition with great unanimity. It was the condition, also, on which the popular party, as represented by La Fayette and his friends, had agreed to the *Charte-Bérard*. Good faith towards this party, not less than the voice of the country, required that the Ministers should now act on the subject, and set the question at rest, so that thus the government of July might be finally and fully organized. Reluctantly and doubtfully, however, as the Ministers gave in to the abasement of the peerage, no such scruples were entertained by the great body of the Deputies, who were in fact pledged to their constituents to carry through the measure. The *projet* of law, as it passed the Chamber of Deputies, enacted that the peerage should cease to be hereditary, leaving to the crown the right of nominating future peers, limiting the right, however, to be exercised only in

certain 'categories' or descriptions of persons. These categories combined all the great public functionaries, political, military, or judicial, — proprietors and heads of manufacturing, commercial, or banking houses, who paid a direct tax of 3000 francs per annum, — members of the four academies of the Institute, — and citizens to whom a national reward should have been specially awarded by law on account of eminent public services. The hereditary quality of the peerage was abolished by a vote of 324 against 86, which made all opposition to the measure on the part of the Chamber of Peers of no avail, by enabling the Ministers to adopt, with safety, the strong measure of creating thirtysix new peers for the express purpose of carrying the law through the upper Chamber. By this mean the *projet* became a law. Various attempts had been made in the Chamber of Deputies to engraft the elective principle upon the peerage, and to provide for the periodical renewal of the members of the Chamber of Peers, in a manner analogous to the organization of the Senate of the United States. But the Ministers and the majority of the Chamber sustained the principle of royal nomination, as more congenial with a monarchical constitution than the principle of election. Indeed, the abolition of the hereditary descent of the peerage, — added to the abolition of the rights of primogeniture in the descent of property, enacted under the Restoration, — left to the people little apprehension from any excessive preponderance of the aristocracy in the government of France.

Another important measure of the same session was passed with the acquiescence, rather than the cordial approbation, of the Ministers, namely, a law for the perpetual banishment of the elder branch of the House of Bourbon and their

descendants, as also the family of Bonaparte. As to the latter there was no cause of serious apprehension, except so far as regarded the Duc de Reichstadt; and his untimely death removed, in a great measure, the jealousy of the government of Louis Philippe respecting the popularity of the name of Napoleon. But the occurrence of disturbances in La Vendée, and the apprehended projects of the Duchesse de Berri in behalf of her son, placed the provision touching the family of Charles X upon grounds of permanent expediency, if not necessity.

Meanwhile, however, the distressed condition of the working classes in Paris and in the Departments became a matter of pressing importance. The industry of the country had, of course, suffered greatly by the agitations of the last fifteen months consequent upon the Revolution of July. To this cause might be ascribed many of the occasional mob-assemblies in Paris, which so often called for the interposition of military force. Or rather, the interruption, or curtailment, of the usual operations of trade and manufacture dependant on capital and credit, had served to throw out of employment multitudes of men, who were susceptible of political influences eminently prejudicial to the public peace. To aid the manufacturers, and furnish employment for the people, the Chambers voted the sum of eighteen millions of francs, as a temporary measure of relief. But the evil was too extensive to be cured by such means. In Lyons, it produced an insurrection among the silk-weavers of the most serious and dangerous description.

Subsequently to the Three Days, the silk manufacturers found themselves driven to the alternative either of suspending their works, or of reducing the wages of their workmen. To sus-

pend their works entirely would have been absolute ruin to the industrious classes; to reduce the wages of the workmen would occasion much distress, but infinitely less than the adoption of the other alternative. Of course, it was resolved by the manufacturers to make the contemplated reduction. But the workmen, ignorant of their own interest, undertook to prevent the reduction by force. They formed combinations, and agreed upon a tariff of wages, demanding that the municipal authorities should sanction and enforce the rate they proposed; and the Prefect yielded to this demand. The 1st of November had been fixed as the time for putting the new tariff into operation; but when it came, the manufacturers refused to comply with it, and a *strike* was the consequence, which threw many thousands of workmen out of employment. Unable to bear this state of things long, on the 20th the starving workmen prepared to take the law into their own hands, and to compel the manufacturers and the public authorities to give them work at the rates they demanded. On the morning of the 21st the inhabitants of the suburb of Croix Rousse, consisting chiefly of a laboring population, rose in arms, fortified the high grounds upon which that suburb is situated, and made demonstrations of a design to attack the city. Hereupon, the troops stationed in the city, and a portion of the National Guard, were called out for the public defence, and hostilities commenced between the workmen on the one hand, and the troops, aided by the better class of citizens, on the other, in which many lives were lost. But the workmen of a suburb on the opposite side of the city now rose, in emulation of their brethren of Croix Rousse, and partly by superiority of numbers, partly by the want of energy or decision among the

military and civil authorities, the insurgents gained possession of the Hotel de Ville, and finally of the whole of Lyons, the military withdrawing themselves, and leaving the rioters in quiet control of this the second city in the Kingdom.

When intelligence of these events reached Paris, it naturally excited the deepest anxiety, because the government apprehended the existence of political disaffection as lying at the bottom of such a formidable insurrection. Marshal Soult and the Duke of Orleans were instantly despatched to Lyons, invested with the most ample powers for reducing the rioters to obedience and restoring the reign of legal authority. The Marshal lost no time in concentrating a large body of troops around the city, so large that the insurgents abandoned all idea of resistance, and quietly submitted to their fate. Indeed they disclaimed, in the strongest terms, all connection with any political party or purpose, declaring their entire devotion to the constitutional Charter and the government of Louis Philippe. On the 3rd of December the Minister entered Lyons at the head of 26,000 men, abolished the compulsory tariff, disbanded those portions of the National Guard which had failed to do their duty effectually, and ensured the continuance of tranquillity by posting a powerful garrison in the city to compress its turbulent population.

This apparently formidable insurrection having thus passed off without shaking the stability of the government, but rather, on the whole, adding to its influence and authority, the Ministers felt strong enough to enter upon the discussion of the civil list, or domains and revenue of the crown, in connexion with the regular financial measures of the year. At the very opening of the debate, however, a curious scene occurred

in the Chamber of Deputies, in consequence of the word 'subjects' having been incidentally used by M. Montalivet, Minister of the Interior. So soon as the word fell from his lips, the republican party in the Chamber rose *en masse*, demanding, in all the excitable vivacity of temperament which distinguishes the French in their legislative proceedings, that the expression should either be retracted or explained. Infinite uproar and confusion put an end for a while to the business of the sitting; and similar disorder occurred the next day. At length, however, the order of the day was voted by a large majority; and the minority contented themselves perforce with protesting against the unlucky word, as implying a state of political subjection to an individual, which they did not recognize, and which they deemed incompatible with the principles of the Revolution of July. On this occasion the republican party seem not to have considered sufficiently, that the word itself was of no consequence, unless it justly applied to the relation between king and people established by the Charter. And as to this point they were concluded by the occurrence of that very form of expression,—'faithful subjects,'—in the address made by the Chamber of 1830, on tendering the crown to Louis Philippe.

In determining the estate and revenue to be settled on the King, three particulars were to be observed, namely, the future destination of the property possessed by him on coming to the throne, the amount of money to be granted annually, and the disposal of the royal domains heretofore held by the crown. It was at length arranged that the private estate, belonging to a king on his ascending the throne, or which he might acquire during his reign, should continue to be his; that the sum of twelve millions of francs,

per annum should be paid him from the treasury; and that most of the royal *châteaux* and estates should remain parcel of the domain of the crown, as provided by former laws.

Next in political interest to this topic of debate, came that of a law for abolishing the solemnities, observed in obedience to existing regulations, on the 21st of January, the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. The law had passed the Chamber of Deputies in December 1831; but the Chamber of Peers kept it in suspense until after the anniversary, and then sent it back, with amendments, in which the other Chamber refused to concur. Crimination and recrimination were liberally exchanged between the opposing parties on this occasion, the Peers accusing the Deputies of regicide and ultra-republican propensities and opinions, and the Deputies holding up the Peers as persevering enemies of the Charter and its principles, and incurably infected with the *émigrant* prejudices of the Restoration.

Out of the Chambers, the early part of the year 1832 was marked by the numerous prosecutions against editors and others, for seditious publications, or for participation in alleged conspiracies to overthrow the government. Certain it is, that the newspaper-press of Paris at this period was preeminently distinguished for the violence and mendacity, which corrupt party motives are so apt to infuse into the columns of political journals. Two divisions of the press conspired to do every thing in their power to bring contempt upon the government, and to excite disaffection among the people. One consisted of journals in the interest of the exiled Bourbons, the party of Charles X and his family, which assailed the government of Louis Philippe because it was revolutionary,

and the creature of popular change in derogation of the rights of legitimacy. Another class of journals denounced it with equal fury as not sufficiently revolutionary. They concurred in the means, although at opposite points of opinion respecting the end. While one party would have overturned the throne of July in order that the young pretender, Henri V, might exercise the rights of sovereignty devolved upon him by the abdication of Charles X and the renunciation of the Dauphin, — the other would have swept away the new dynasty, either to proclaim the son of Napoleon, or to establish a pure Republic. However richly the editors in the interest of either of these parties may have deserved punishment for their innumerable libels on the government, its head, and its ministerial members, — the prosecutions generally failed, owing either to the sympathy of the jury with the popular feeling, or the intimidation of the jurors by the violence of the friends and adherents of the accused.

As in the outrages perpetrated by the press, so in the plots against the government, the Carlists and the Republicans appeared together in a kind of association of guilt and crime, strangely in contradiction to the hostility, wherewith the regicides, republicans, and Bonapartists of the one side, and the Jesuits, emigrants, and extravagant Bourbonists of the other, could not fail to regard each other, except when stimulated by their common hostility to the government of Louis Philippe. The conspirators were trained on by the Police, which possessed the knowledge of their meetings and plans, until the 1st of February, when considerable numbers of them were apprehended in different parts of the city, and their schemes were for the present defeated. A commotion occurred soon afterwards at Grenoble, which occasioned

some alarm; and the situation of La Vendée grew every day more and more unsettled; for in that region the adherents of Henry V began to collect in armed bands, plundering the collectors and agents of the treasury, issuing proclamations, and striving to rouse the inhabitants to civil war. On the face of things, it would have seemed that so many elements of confusion must have destroyed the power of Louis Philippe, yet green, immature, and unsettled; but they proved the means of consolidating his throne more surely than a long period of public tranquillity could have done it.

Prior to the time when the public troubles reached their climax, the cholera morbus broke out in Paris, and by its fatal ravages checked for the moment the progress of insurrection. Unlike the operation of it in other countries, here the deadly pestilence was not confined to the dissolute or intemperate, or the needy inhabitants of the squalid abodes of extreme poverty. So many of the prominent individuals of society fell victims to the disease, that the sittings of the Chambers were of necessity brought to a close, the members being unwilling to remain exposed to the infectious influence of the atmosphere of Paris. And the President of the Council, M. Périer, having been attacked by the cholera, as well as M. d'Argout, Minister of the Interior, the government itself partook of the universal derangement occasioned by the frightful progress of pestilence and death. On the 16th of May M. Casimir Périer died, and M. Girod de l'Ain taking the office of Minister of Public Instruction for the time being, attempts were then made to reorganize the cabinet, but without accomplishing the object. The Opposition availed themselves of the crisis to put forth an elaborate *Compte Rendu*, or address to their constituents,

denouncing the Administration as false to the principles of the Three Days. Evidently, the critical period of Louis Philippe's government was now at hand.

Men who had taken part in the achievements of the Three Days, who knew from personal experience how easy it was for the raw volunteers of mob-soldiery to hold the city of Paris against the best troops of the Kingdom, were slow to reconcile themselves to the regulated obedience required under a legal government. They acquired, on that occasion, exaggerated notions of their political consequence, as well as of their physical capacity. They began to imagine that every act of the government, however constitutional, which did not quadrate with their political opinions, was ample cause to justify them in taking arms, and forcing the public authorities into compliance with their arbitrary wills. Thus it had been on the trial of the ex-ministers, when Paris was converted into one vast camp, in order to secure a fair investigation of each case, and to preserve the accused from popular outrage. Thus it had been, although in a less degree, upon several subsequent occasions. Such a state of things was, of course, injurious to the best interests of the country, being the spirit of anarchy, not liberty; and it speedily brought upon itself the punishment it deserved.

In Paris, the funeral obsequies of eminent individuals are conducted with great pomp; and it is customary to pronounce discourses over the deceased, either at the grave, or in some other place open to the access of the multitude. When the deceased is a prominent politician, his burial naturally calls forth the sympathies of his party friends and followers, as happened at the deaths of Manuel and Foy. The death of General La-

marque, who, as a distinguished soldier of the Empire, and as an Opposition debater in the Chambers, was now at the pinnacle of popularity, gave occasion to a desperate and sanguinary struggle between the government and the people. Lamarque had desired to be buried in his native town of Saint Sever. It was arranged that the procession should start from his residence in the Rue Saint Honoré on the morning of the 5th of June, and proceed by the Place de la Bastille across the bridge of Austerlitz on the way to Saint Sever. At the bridge a chapel was constructed; and near this point, when the body quitted the city, the several speakers were to deliver their eulogies on the dead. An immense crowd followed the corpse, escorted by a military guard. On arriving at the Rue de la Paix, the people insisted upon leaving the prescribed route of the procession, in order to enter the Place Vendôme, and salute the triumphal column raised there as the trophy of so many battles, in which Lamarque had carved his way to glory. Here a slight collision occurred between the people and the public authorities, in consequence of the hesitancy of the officers at the hotel of the Etat Major of the garrison of Paris, in the Place Vendôme, to turn out the troops at the post and salute the procession, they having no orders on the subject, as the procession was not expected to march in that direction. After this, the procession went on to the Place de la Bastille, where the most inflammatory addresses were pronounced by prominent individuals of the Opposition. By this time, the feelings of the populace were excited to the highest pitch of exaltation. La Fayette, anticipating that serious disorders were likely to ensue, advised and entreated the people to disperse; but instead of hearkening to his expostulation, they

hurried him away from the scene, as if to free themselves from the admonition of his presence; and then insisted upon going back with the body of Lamarque to the Pantheon, displaying red flags with the inscription 'Liberty or Death.' These indications of a determined purpose of riot, as disgraceful in reference to the occasion as it was otherwise frantic and foolish, could no longer be mistaken. The public agents interfered successfully to prevent the body from being carried to the Pantheon, and to have it conducted out of the city towards Saint Sever.

Both sides then prepared for combat, — the government, as was its duty, to preserve public order, the mob in the hopes of producing a revolution, and overturning the government, which they themselves had so recently constituted. The troops easily expelled the multitude from the open square, and from the larger avenues in which they were assembled in dense crowds, by resolutely charging upon the latter, and sweeping them along in despite of all their efforts to maintain their ground; but on the other hand, the people began to throw up barricades in the more defensible streets, to disarm the detached military posts in different parts of the city, and to rally under leaders of their own, or students of the Polytechnic School. All at once Paris became the scene of a desperate military contest, nowise inferior in bloodshed to that of the Three Days. But circumstances had entirely changed. The government was well and courageously supported by the troops and the National Guards; and after five hours of determined fighting the mob were beaten at all points, and the government remained peaceable master of the city.

The King was at Saint Cloud on the 5th, but hastened to Paris on receiving information of the

disturbances in the city, and contributed by the presence of himself and his family to sustain the Ministers and the soldiery, and to encourage the loyal part of the population. He rode through the city, showing himself fearlessly at all points, and entering with spirit and vigor into the measures adopted for restoring tranquillity. Had Charles X and the Dauphin done the same in July, and had Marshal Marmont and the Prince de Polignac displayed on that occasion the same resolution and activity, which characterized the Ministers of Louis Philippe on the 5th and 6th of June, it may be doubted whether the Duke of Orleans would have ascended the throne of France. — And the government followed up their success with fearless vigor. On the morning of the 7th appeared an ordinance declaring Paris to be in a state of siege, and consigning over the instigators of the bloody scenes of the preceding days to trial by martial law. The Polytechnic School and the Veterinary School of Alfort were temporarily closed, and those of their students, who had taken part in the insurrection, were expelled. The press had its due share of restraint, and justly too, in consideration of the extraordinary license it had assumed to itself in the propagation of seditious and factious falsehood. In short, the strong arm of irresistible power was stretched over the devoted population of Paris.

Well was it for the government to exhibit so much of resolution in this perilous emergency, at the hazard even of losing its ascendancy in the Chambers. Nothing else could have rescued the country from hopeless anarchy. Courts-martial were detailed forthwith, and proceeded to the trial of some of the rioters, several of whom were convicted and sentenced, some capitally, others to various terms of imprisonment. Mean-

while the accused, denying the legality of the ordinance which declared the city in a state of siege, and of course disavowing the jurisdiction of the courts organized under it, appealed from their sentences to the Court of Cassation, the supreme tribunal of the Kingdom, which decided on the 29th of June that the ordinance was not justified by the Charter. Frankly retracing their steps, the Ministers issued an ordinance the next day, raising the siege, and restoring the regular administration of justice. The measure, however, had exercised a salutary influence in Paris, and the Ministers retained their places, regardless of the threats of impeachment, and the torrents of obloquy, poured out upon them by the presses of the Opposition.

In October, the cabinet-arrangements were completed, without the introduction of any such individuals as would render necessary a change in the course of its public policy. Negotiations had been entered into with M. Dupin for giving him a portfolio, but they failed, owing, it was alleged, to his demanding to be made President of the Council. This responsible office was bestowed on the Duc de Dalmatie, who still retained the War Department. General Sébastiani, retiring from the Foreign Department in consequence of ill health, was succeeded by the Duc de Broglie. M. Humann became Minister of Finance, M. Thiers of Public Instruction, and MM. Montalivet, Barthe, and De Rigny remained in their respective Departments of the Interior, Justice, and Marine. In connexion with these arrangements fifty-nine new peers were created. At the same time, Marshal Soult addressed a circular to the Prefects of Departments, making known the principles of government professed by the Administration.

Pending these events in the capital, the Duchess of Berri had landed in France, involved the departments of the West in civil war, run her short career of adventure, and fallen into the hands of the government to be shut up in the castle of Blaye, where the discovery of her criminal weakness covered the cause of the Carlists with ridicule and opprobrium, and thus did more for the security of Louis Philippe, than could have been effected by the most brilliant victories in La Vendée. So early as the month of April, the Duchess was known to be preparing to set sail for Italy, for the purpose of raising the white standard in France. On the 29th, the public authorities at Marseilles learnt that the Duchess was expected the next day, and that the Carlists were prepared to take arms the moment she landed. In fact, on the 30th, the Carlists took arms, and assembled to the number of two or three thousand men, to receive the Duchess; but she did not arrive; and the insurrection was quelled without difficulty by the joint efforts of the civil and military authorities. This premature explosion increased the vigilance of the government. In fact, the Duchess, accompanied by Marshal Bourmont, landed soon afterwards in the bay of Ciotat, between Marseilles and Toulon, and made her way in safety to La Vendée. She was conveyed from Italy in a Sardinian steam boat called the Carlo Alberto, which was captured by a government cruiser, when it was too late, although MM. de Saint Priest, De Kergolay, and others of her suite, including a *femme-de-chambre*, who was mistaken for her, were still on board and were made prisoners. When it was at length ascertained that the Duchess was in La Vendée, the government spared no pains

to detect her retreat, and to suppress the scattered movements of the Vendéans.

The rational friends of the Bourbons, especially in Paris, saw that the enterprise of the Duchess was utterly hopeless, the government being strong enough against the Carlists, whatever cause of apprehension it might have as regarded the Republicans. What could the ultra-royalists of La Vendée accomplish, without arms or munitions of war, without pecuniary resources, without any chance of aid from abroad? To raise the standard of rebellion was to expose every prominent personage to sure destruction. On the 3rd of June the Departments of Maine and Loire, La Vendée, Loire Inférieure, and Deux Sèvres, had been placed under martial law,—while the Duchess carried on a warfare of proclamations and skirmishes in the recesses of the Boeage, without any earthly prospect of success. Indeed, she acted contrary to the express remonstrances of the trusted counsellors of her House. In their behalf, M. Berryer, one of the most eminent among them, left Paris, and had an interview with the Duchess in the vicinity of Nantes, at great personal hazard, in order to dissuade the Duchess from remaining in France. He was arrested in consequence of the interview and brought to trial; but the manifest honesty of his intentions procured his acquittal. MM. the Duc de Fitzjames, Hyde de Neuville, and Châteaubriand were also arrested, on suspicion of acting in concert with her, but soon discharged. Finally, by the faithless meanness of a German Jew, the Duchess was betrayed to the government in November, while concealed in the dwelling of a lady of her party at Nantes. Being conducted thence to the strong castle of Blaye, on the banks of the Garonne, there she remained, a subject of

vexation and solicitude to the government, undetermined what course ultimately to pursue in reference to her, until she was forced, by the progress of pregnancy, to declare that she had been secretly married to a Neapolitan gentleman, the Count Lucchesi Palli, if indeed the marriage were not simulated to save her from greater shame. This incident deprived her of all power to be mischievous, by reducing her from the romantic elevation of an exiled princess sacrificing every thing to vindicate her rights and her honor, to the pitiable condition of a weak, if not a wanton, woman, glad to escape from France on any terms, and hide her head in her congenial Naples or Sicily.

The moment of the suppression of the insurrection in La Vendée, was a fortunate occasion for the Ministers to meet the Chambers. Whatever fears the members of the cabinet might have entertained, as to their reception in the Chambers, after the high handed measures they had adopted in the riots of June, they found that the result was to fix them securely in office. Now, as the year before, the great majority of the Deputies were decidedly averse to any further experiments at present with revolutions. Recent events had served to confirm the convictions entertained by them at the preceding session, and they were disposed to overlook the questionable part of the measures of June, in consideration of the magnitude of the danger and the successful action of the Ministers. As the King proceeded across the Pont Royal to open the session in person, some one discharged a pistol at him from among the crowd. Whether this were the abortive attempt of an assassin, or a piece of stage effect got up by the Police to awaken loyal feeling, did not distinctly appear. Certain it is,

however, that in the election of its officers and its votes upon the address, the Chamber resolutely supported the Ministers. M. Dupin was elected President of the Chamber by a majority of nearly two to one over his competitor, M. Lafitte, the Opposition candidate. And thus the year 1833 arrived, with the moderate party in full power, triumphant alike over faction in Paris and civil war in the Departments.

In speaking of the foreign relations of France, we cursorily described the great political divisions of the Kingdom. — It is clear enough how and why the dominant party, at the present time, has with it so strongly the voice of the nation. France needs, and she demands, repose, not agitation. She cannot sustain a revolution every summer, any more than her vineyards could flourish under a yearly return of hurricane. Men cling to the throne of Louis Philippe for safety, who are but little attached to it as a matter of predilection. Neither Donnadieu's dark pictures of the moral anarchy of the people, nor the eloquence of Odillon Barrot, nor the powerful writing of Salvandy* or Châteaubriand, nor the anti-social jugglery of the Saint Simonians, nor Sarrans' labored inculcation of the Citizen King and his Ministers, can shake the stability of the latter, so long as the recollection of the riots of Lyons and Paris continues fresh in the minds of the better disposed among the French.

Of all the means afforded us to judge of the state of parties in France, none is more curious or characteristic than the interview, had amid the

* Sarrans' book contains, undoubtedly, more of popular reading illustrative of the French politics of the day; but two works of M. de Salvandy, his '*Vingt Mois, ou la Révolution de 1830 et les Révolutionnaires*,' and the smaller one, entitled '*Paris, Nantes, et la Session*,' abound in more important philosophical views of the Revolution.

commotions of June, between the King, and MM. Lafitte, Odillon Barrot, and Arago, as a committee of the Opposition. They came to remonstrate against the strong measures of the government on that occasion, and to urge a return to the principles of July, as, in their opinion, the surest preservative of the public peace. Louis Philippe received them courteously, and listened to them calmly and patiently. He had just returned from a ride through the streets of Paris, followed by the acclamations of the inhabitants, who rejoiced to see the Chief of the State among his people, participating in the common peril, and contributing by his presence and personal efforts to maintain the public security. For the French, says our author, never remained cold in view of a king on horseback, snuffing up the smoke of gunpowder. Odillon Barrot began by deploring the disorders and calamities of the day before, expressing the strongest indignation at the culpable excesses of the armed rioters. Then he proceeded to say that *the retrograde policy of the ministry, the engagements of July disregarded, the hopes of the Revolution disappointed, the national honor forgotten, and in fine the system of the 13th of March altogether*, had occasioned the insurrection in Paris. These grounds of complaint seemed to constitute the arraignment of the King, the act of accusation drawn up by the Opposition.

It is impossible, on reading these charges against the policy of Louis Philippe, to avoid feeling as he did, that they were altogether too vague. They amounted to nothing definite and specific. The King replied, as to the existing contest in the capital, that having been audaciously attacked by his enemies, he was acting in his legitimate right of self-defence; that it was time, at last, to put down revolt, and that he em-

ployed cannon as the shortest way of ending it. In respect of the engagements of the Hôtel de Ville, he could hardly comprehend, he said, what all the clamor on that subject meant; that on that occasion he had made no specific promises; that in fact he had more than fulfilled the general expectations then raised, by infusing into the institutions of the country as much of republican spirit as the Charter admitted; and that the Périer system, the system of the 13th of March, was emphatically his own, without the power and purpose of pursuing which he would never have taken the crown; and that it was the only policy conformable to the wishes or wants of France.

M. Arago then took up the discussion; and the conversation was continued between them, with considerable animation on both sides, but decidedly to the advantage of the King, who, not less in coolness of temper than in soundness of reasoning, proved quite a match for MM. Odillon Barrot and Arago. When challenged by the King to specify wherein he had been false to the engagements of July, M. Arago referred to but one point of domestic policy, alleging a scandalous indulgence on the part of the government towards the Duchess of Berri and the Carlists generally, and unexampled ferocity in respect of 'the outbreaks of the men and the press of July.' Running over the events of the period, we shall perceive that there was little foundation for this charge. In truth, the Carlist writers and speakers were at all times equally vehement in imputing to the government 'unexampled ferocity' towards themselves and their friends, pretending that they and their cause were always made to suffer punishment for the excesses of the Republicans.

And here is the weak point in the domestic policy of the Opposition. They vote and argue

against a certain supposed tendency or spirit of the ministry, without adducing any determinate facts in support of their allegations, except acts of severity on the part of the government, extorted from it by reiterated popular commotions having no *constitutional* aim. Ostensibly, they impugn the system of a cabinet; they blame its retrograde march, its anti-revolutionary character; but, practically, it would seem to be the form of government, the system of monarchy itself, whereon they make war. Of course, they are under the necessity of taking a false position in the very outset. Unprepared to say to Louis Philippe,—we will none of you, we demand purely democratical institutions,—they are continually at fault, when pushed from their general and vague causes of complaint, to show what they would have, that is consistent with the Charter and the constitutional functions of the monarchy of July. Carlists are not wanting to re-echo their complaints, and stir up the people to insurrection, because they foresee chances of another Restoration in the return of political confusion, having before their eyes perpetually the prospect of a struggle of parties sliding into anarchy, or surging over to despotism, and thus again the Bourbons enthroned in France.

No man ever sympathized more heartily with the successes of the republican party in France, than Thomas Jefferson. Yet he it was, who, not once, but again and again, cautioned his friends in that country to beware of losing all by playing for too high a stake. The sentiments, which he addressed to them on those occasions, and which he has left recorded in a letter to La Fayette, he would have uttered at this day with ten-fold emphasis.

Three modifications of government are *possible* in France. She may have a government lit-

erally of movement, of never-ceasing agitation, of a perpetually convulsed tension of the social energies.—She may have an absolute government, and she would live contentedly under it, so long as it pursued a splendid career of victory and conquest, and no longer.—She may have a free but fixed government, which alone can assure to her population the peaceful repose of prosperity, or the tranquil enjoyments of cultivated life. Which would a prudent man, a wise one, a true patriot, choose for his country? It seems easy to answer this question; and did no distempering passions, no clouding interests, pre-occupy the mind, there could be only one answer to it. In a great social or political revolution, the misfortune is that the successful party do not seldom misjudge where to stop. Revolution starts forward with a bound. It is of its essence a violent effort, a struggle, the spring of an elastic element relieved of a compressing force. Its first impulse, when fairly let slip from confinement, is irresistible. It needs well to beware of acquiring such headlong impetuosity of movement, as to rush on swift destruction, like a steed running wild and masterless over the course. And thus it is that the antagonist force, which could not avail even to strangle the youthful Hercules in his cradle, may seize on his moments of passionate weakness to wind over his limbs the poisoned shirt of Nessus.

France, it may safely be assumed, is *not yet* ripe for a Republic, by that name, and with the full, complete, unbalanced, all-pervading influence of the democratic principle, which obtains in the institutions of the United States. Such was the conviction avowed by La Fayette himself in the famous interview of the Hôtel de Ville, that *programme* of July, which seated Louis

Philippe on the throne. Sarrans even, while overflowing with hostility to the government of the Palais Royal, elaborately justifies the conduct and sentiments of La Fayette in reference to the inexpediency of establishing a Republic at that crisis. 'It is indisputable,' he says, 'that with the exception of some old and quite rare Republicans, and of a greater number of young men, who, though enamored of that form of government, have not yet, perhaps, very settled notions as to the democratic arrangements that would suit them, — it is indisputable, that, with these exceptions the proclaiming of a Republic would have given rise to almost universal alarm and opposition in France.'* Horror of the excesses of the Reign of Terror preyed on the spirits of the timid, and was not without salutary influence over the sanguine and the ardent, resolved as they were to withstand usurpation, and maintain the cause of the country at any hazard. They remembered the anarchy following upon anarchy, — like deep calling unto deep, until military despotism came riding on the whirlwind to direct its rending blast into the channel of foreign conquest, — which marked the career of the first Revolution. In seeking to personify that epoch, to give it a distinct and visible form in the mind's eye, they conjured up, — sometimes the fearful image of a destroying angel sent of God to sweep away men and nations from the earth in punishment of long ages of crime, — sometimes a horrid monster staggering in the mire, and yelling forth blasphemies, with arms reeking in blood, the portentous incarnation of the spirit of Evil. They shrank aghast from the spectacle of woe, which faithful memory, or creative imagination, presented to their view. Hence the combatants of the

* Sarrans, *La Fayette et la Révolution*, part. ii, ch. 6.

Barricades, throughout the struggle of the Three Days, appealed to the CHARTER as the rallying point of their hopes and vows, the Charter invigorated, reinforced, rendered a truth and a reality instead of an illusive name, — the Charter and not the Republic. Hence the prompt and hearty adhesion of the nation and the army to Louis Philippe, as the fit representative of the feelings of the French, mixed of devotion to freedom and devotion to order. Hence the reaction in favor of monarchy, which has ensued upon each successive riot in Paris during the last three years, one rebound after another having pushed the government further up towards the side of vigor and force, and away from the reach of popular influence, until, at the present hour, we see Louis Philippe borne out by the Chambers in drawing a *cordon* of citadels around Paris, and establishing on the rocks of Saint Michel a state-prison more impregnable than the Bastille.

To reconcile the utmost possible degree of individual freedom with the preservation of public order, — in other words, to yield up, into the aggregate stock of powers composing the government, just so much of the powers of the individual as may be necessary to the security of what is retained, and to yield no more, — such is the grand political problem of modern times. Every attempt to reach the equation of this highest of problems is more or less an experiment, and the result attained in any case is at best but an approximate solution. It is one of those questions, wherein so many elements enter, that the coolest heads and the keenest sagacity are sometimes at a loss in the process of analysis, and in which, reduce and eliminate as you will, there still remains an unknown quantity, whose value you prove unable to measure. And among these

elements are all the possible diversities of human temper and character, all the possible forms of manners, customs, laws, institutions written and unwritten, — all the possible combinations of moral and physical facts going to qualify the social condition of the human race, — which impose upon lawgivers the necessity, either of modifying political institutions so as to adapt them to the people who are to receive them, or of modifying the people so as to fit and prepare them for their political institutions. One alteration is the task of a Solon, the other of a Lycurgus.

To neglect or condemn these considerations is the error of the mere theorist, the political fanatic, the man of *one idea*, the visionary enthusiast, who sails over the tide of time, with his eyes fastened to some fixed point in his intellectual firmament, heedless of the boiling eddies and sharp rocks and foaming breakers around him, and only awakened from his trance of infatuation to feel his frail bark dashed to atoms and its freight plunged into the raging sea. On the other hand, to deem too highly of such considerations is characteristic always of the *merely* practical man, often of the selfish one, who, being in the actual possession of power, looks only to the narrow expedencies of his individual position, regardless of *general* principles, — or, being without power, seeks only to acquire it, reckless of *any* principle. Either of these qualities of mind or conduct is alike prejudicial to the public welfare, to the extension of liberty, and to the permanent progress of social improvement.

Our sympathies are all on the side of the friends of the freest practicable forms of government. God grant that republican institutions, and the fitness for them which should precede or accompany them, may become the universal heritage of

Europe. In France, there is much already that promises the noblest fruits of individual freedom and public glory. The Bourbons have exchanged the splendors of Paris and Saint Cloud for humble dependence on the hospitality of Austria. Polignac and Peyronnet, the guiltiest of their ministers, are expiating their crimes in the castle of Ham. Peyronnet himself, Montbel, D'Haussez, no longer in a situation to indite treasonable ordinances, are better employed in describing their foreign adventures, or gracing the pages of the 'Livre des Cent-et-Un.' While the *fleurs-de-lis* have been expunged from the armoirial bearings of Orleans, the statue of Napoleon once more looks proudly down over Paris, from the triumphal column of the Place Vendôme. The principles of liberty are thoroughly wrought into the habits and opinions of the people. They possess the guaranties requisite for the security of their freedom. Equality of all men before the law, — equal admissibility of all to every pursuit and post in the State excepting only the royal office, — an elective popular representation, — trial by jury in criminal matters, — freedom of thought, speech, and writing, — a soil held by its cultivators, and delivered of tithes and feudal burdens, — these are precious pledges of prosperity to France. Possessing them, she has little to apprehend but the possible excesses of the people themselves; and it is against such hazards that she needs to be especially and perpetually warned by the free of other nations, who take interest in her welfare. And that which, as to France, the foes of popular rights deprecate above all things, is the orderly and successful working of her present liberal institutions. Gladly would the monarchist once again point to the example of the French as a memento against

revolutionary change. Be it the brilliant destiny of young France to disappoint the sinister auguries of her detractors, of the inveterate because deeply interested enemies of freedom, by marching steadily along in the career of social and political improvement, side by side with England, as the advance-guard of the civilization of Europe.

END OF SEQUEL.

